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A RESIDENCE

AT

CONSTANTINOPLE,

DURING A PERIOD INCLUDING

THE COMMENCEMENT, PROGRESS,
AND TERMINATION

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OF THE

GREEK AND TURKISH REVOLUTIONS:

BY THE

REV. R. WALSH, LL.D.

AUTHOR OF

"A JOURNEY FROM CONSTANTINOPLE," "NOTICES OF BRAZIL," ETC. ETC.

TU-a-L°

TWO VOLUMES.—VOLUME II.

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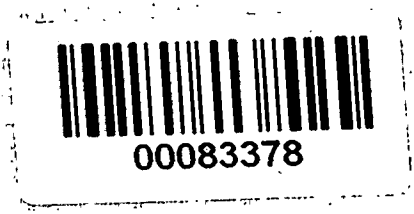


CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Page

Mode of making Slaves—Exposure in Markets for Sale—Anecdotes of Slaves—Infamous Treatment of Boys—Sciote Hostages—Sent to the Porte—Unexpected Execution in the Streets—Reasons assigned—Promise to Lord Strangford—Sympathy of the English—Escape of many Greeks—Fugitives in Palace Garden—Consolation of the Scripture in their own Language—Application of Torture—Various kinds—Few escape with life—Disorganization of the Capital—Excesses of the Populace—Avowed resolution of the Sultan—Energetic Measures—Summary Punishments—Censorship of Books—Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia—Greek Princes excluded—Cease to be Dragomans—Turks first learn European Languages 1

CHAPTER II.

Set out to visit Scio—Janissary and Italian Servant—New aspect of Dardanelles—Gallipoli—Lampsacus—Adventure at Abydos—Tenedos Wine—Scriptural usage—Metelyn—Harbour of Smyrna—Inbat—Refraction of the Atmosphere—Curious Confirmation of Oppian's Story—Gaiety of Smyrna—Merchants' residence—Consul Werry—Revolting Spectacle—St. Polycarp—Amazon's Head—Homer's Grotto—Proceed to Teos—Effects of Persecution of Greeks—Valonia—Caprification—First Figs sent to England—Sevrihissar—Aga—Brutal Turk—Sedijâk—Marbles of the Teian Diræ—Remnant of Greek Population—Beauty of Teos—Country of Anacreon—Theatre, Temple, and Mole—Perfect Remains—Contrast of Present and Ancient State of People—Robbers of Corycus—Vourla—High State of Cultivation—Mole of Alexander—Isle of Clazomenæ—Canal of Alexander—Bath of Agamemnon 35

CHAPTER III.

Aspect of Scio from the Sea—English Consular Agent—Fortress—Suspicions of the Pasha—State of the Town—Revolting Spectacles—Ruins

Page

and Human Bodies—Bishop's Palace and Cathedral—College—Fate of Professors and Students—Utter Desolation of the Place—Visit the Country—Similar Desolation—Consul's Garden—Sudden and interesting Contrast—Preservation of Human Life—Terror of Children at the sight of our Turks—Coast of Asia Minor—Remains of Cities—Bay of Ephesus—Swans of the Cayster—Sand at its Mouth—Mistaken for Ipsariotes—Attacked by Turkish Cavalry—Taken Prisoners—Pass the Night in a Swamp—Effects of Conflagration—Phosphoric Light from living Fishes—Released by order of the Pasha—Visit the Ruins of Ephesus—Theatre and Temple of Diana—Present state of Christian Population—Innocuous Effects of Malaria—Tenedos—Provisions sent to Survivors at Scio—Strange Demand and Remarks of our Janissary 66

CHAPTER IV.

Halet Effendi—Chief Barber and Coffee-maker—Proceedings of Janissaries—Change of Ministry—Deposition and Death of Halet—Torture of Hazakiel, his Jew Banker—Execution of Asomachi, his Greek Spy—Amiable traits of the Grand Vizir, Delhi Abdalla—Supply of Water to the City—Aqueducts and Cisterns of the Lower Empire—Improvements of the Turks—Belgrade—Destruction of the Woods to dislodge the Robbers—Abortive attempt at improvement by Osmyn Aga—House of Lady M. W. Montague an object of great interest—No trace of it—Vaccination returned for Inoculation—Migratory Birds—Severity of Winter—Harbour frozen over—Eclipse of the Moon—Shock of an Earthquake—Turkish precautions against Fire—Causes of its frequency—Great Conflagration in March, 1823—Anecdotes of it—Extent of the injury 90

CHAPTER V.

Princess' Islands—Proté—Unsuccessful attempt of English to dislodge Turks—Platé—Desolate State—Oxea—Remains of Edifices of Lower Empire—Antigone—Archbishop of Mount Sinai—Chalki—Remains of Ancient Mines—Picture of Last Day—Tomb of our first resident Ambassador—Prinkipo—Exorcism of Demoniacs—Anecdote of Greek Priests—General character of the Islands—Subject to sudden Hurricanes—Prison for suspected Greeks—Hospitable Greek Ladies—Family of Greek Musicians—Melancholy Fate—Atrocious character of Sultan Selim's Sister—Plague at Buyukderé—Alarm at

Page

Pera—Curious Cause—Crew of suspected Ship in British Chapel —Terror of Plague—Return to Princess' Island 134

CHAPTER VI.

Voyage to Nicomedia—Libyssa—Tomb of Hannibal—Toosla—Colony of Storks—Amusement of Turks—Cherries—Aga of Darjha—Retreat of Early Christians—Inbat—Beauty of the Gulf—Site of City—Conak in the Bishop's Palace—Dangerous Books—Muzzelim—Decrees of Diocletian—Extirpation of Christianity—Baptism of Constantine—Present State of Nicomedia—Travelling Retinue—Turkish Horses—Khan at Sabangee—Immense Cherry-tree—White Waters of Sakâriah—Pylæ—Beauty of Valley—Ocean of Trees—Lefkeh—Turkish Entertainment—Effects of Tea—Tartar Couriers—Nicæa—Extraordinary Appearance—Palace of Constantine—Ancient Christian Church—First Œcumenic Council—Subjects discussed—Second Council—Restoration of Image-worship—Recent Prosperity of Nicæa—Present Desolation 161

CHAPTER VII.

Yeni Shehr—Rigid Morality—Surface of Asia Minor—Young Locusts —Opium Harvest—Excessive indulgence not injurious—Silk Worms —Mode of Hatching and Rearing—Mount Olympus—Splendid Appearance—Rivers of dissolved Snow—Aspect of Brusa—Past and Present State—Visit to Muzzelim—Inconvenience of assuming Consequence—Greek Family—Neapolitan Doctor—Bishop of Brusa—Hot Baths—Process of Bathing—Intense Heat of the Spring—Ingredients of Water—Ancient Acropolis—Hannibal's Fortress—Tomb of Orchan—Ascent of Mount Olympus—Various Regions—Elevated Plain—Trout Streams—Snowy Peak—Singular and beautiful Vegetation—Seats of the Gods—Extensive View—Moodania—Horrid Khan —Dangerous Storm 190

CHAPTER VIII.

Vaccination at Chalki—General use of issues—Swathing infants—Dispensary—Extraordinary cures for jaundice—Gillandjik—Nereides —Reliance on Panaya—Effects of bastinado—Locusts in Pera—Devastation of Palace Garden—Flight to Black Sea—Final fate—Arrival of Giraffe—Sent to visit Foreign Ambassadors—Mentioned in Pentateuch—Propitiatory gift—Lascars—Mocha Coffee—Turkish

Page

notions of Geography—Artificial Globes—Reception of them at the Porte—Remarks of Turkish Ministers—Torture inflicted on two Ionian Subjects—Extraordinary privileges of Dragomans—Not acceded to by British Ambassador—Patlinjam Melktem—Solemn sound of Black Sea—Awful destruction of Ships—Sardinian Treaty—English Sea Captain—Sudden change of temperature—Optical deception—Proclamation of Padisha—Return of Capitan Pasha—Selictar Aga 216

CHAPTER IX.

Birth of a Child at the Seraglio announced at the British Chapel—Story-teller at Ramazan—Adventures of Tiffli—Turkish Bible sold at Customhouse—Alarm excited—Distribution prohibited—Ipsara—Turks attack it—Gallant defence—Fall of the Island—Recovered and abandoned by the Greeks—Noses and Ears exposed—Standards displayed—Attack on Samos—Crowds of Fellows set out from the Capital—Turks repulsed—Return of disappointed Marauders—Plague breaks out in British Palace—Great Alarm—Quarantine at Belgrade—Author supposed to have taken it—Abandoned in the Mountains—Attended by Janissary and Greek Boy—Protection used by the latter—Ambassador proceeds to England—Departure of the Author . 239

CHAPTER X.

Return to Constantinople—Political Changes—Russian War—Extinction of Janissaries—Of Levant Company—Turkish Reforms—Expulsion of Dogs—Toleration of Pigs—Use of Wine—Military Parades—Newspapers—Sultan's Clemency—Emancipation of Slaves—Liberality to Sciotes—Indulgence to Greeks 264

CHAPTER XI.

Repair of Churches—Cross of Constantine—Singular display of Christian Standard—Sultan's conduct to Foreigners—Barbarous Usages abolished—Seven Towers—Presents—Mode of Presentation—Portrait Painting—Medical Lectures—Cure of Lunatics—Vaccination—Establishment of Quarantine—Precautions against Cholera—Resellay—Appointment of Pashas—Administration of Justice—Confiscation of Property—Derebeys—Ulemah—Sultan's Domestic Habits—Favourite Mustapha—Voyage of beneficence—Popularity—Estimation of his Reforms 290

CHAPTER XII.

Page

Indication of Fire—Rapid progress—Destruction of English and other Palaces—Extent of the Conflagration—Escape of the British Chancery —Awful state of a Private House—Total obliteration of Streets— Indifference of Turkish Authorities—Sultan proposes to rebuild on a new Plan—Persevering attempts to burn Constantinople—Execution of the Incendiaries—Awful Hail Storm—Incredible size of Stones— Effects of the Fire on Cholera—Plague again appears—Interesting Cases—Inoculation tried—American Mission first established—Character of Society 320

CHAPTER XIII.

Few Antiquities at Constantinople—Reasons why—Earthquakes—Imperfect Architecture—Iconoclasts—Crusaders—Turks—Triple Serpent—Obelisk—Colossus—Brazen Horses—Their extraordinary Migrations—Marcian's Column—Daikili Tash, or Burnt Pillar—Interesting connexion with Christianity—Pillar of Theodosius—Strange use made of it—Pillar of Arcadius—Described by Gillius and others —Present remains of it 345

CHAPTER XIV.

Account of Greek Church from a Greek MS.—First Patriarch under the Turks received a sum of Money from Sultan—This arrangement altered —Cause of it—Patriarch since pays the Turks—Attempts to extirpate the Religion of the Greeks—How prevented—First Learned Men— Greeks form a Constitution for themselves—Synods, how composed— Election of Patriarch—Turbulent Assembly—Conduct in Patriarchal Church—Revenue of Patriarch—Of the Synods—Jurisdiction of Bishops—Number at present in Greek Church—Peculiar Privileges of some—Revenue how raised—Patriarch of Alexandria—Of Antioch —Of Jerusalem—Dress of Ecclesiastics, once splendid—Why— Now very simple—Convents—Mount Athos—Thessaly—Cyprus— Mesopotamia—Mount Sinai—Holy Sepulchre . . 359

CHAPTER XV.

Doctrines of Greek Church—Dissent from Latin—Marriage of Priests —Exclusion of Images—Opinion of Apocryphal Books—Procession of the Holy Spirit—Translation of the Scriptures—Use of Leavened Bread in Eucharist—Elements of both kinds given to the Laity—

Page

Other points of difference—Superstitious Observances—Casting Cross into the Sea—Festival of the Fishes—Judas Iscariot burnt on Good Friday—Effigies of Christ on Easter Sunday—Paschal Eggs—Rising Sun—Baptism of Proselytes and Adults—Exorcism—Oblations for the Dead—Mode of Burial—Greek Liturgy—Chanting Service—Almanacs—Academy of Ayveli—Flourishing state—Total destruction—Academy of Scio—Of Korou Chesmé—Books—Schism in Greek Literature—Criticism—Explanation of Monograms—Libraries—Population 379

CHAPTER XVI.

Christian Sects—Nestorians—Chaldean Bishop—Account of his Country—Where situated—Present state—Government and Manners—Religion and Literature—Hebed-Iesu—Scriptural Books—Xenophon's Account of the Country—Buchanan—Sect of Eutychians—Armenians—Number at Constantinople—Clergy—Fasts—Opinions of the Eucharist—Marriages—Nuptial Taper—Shawl—Armenian Dinner—Domestic Habits—Discipline of Families—Cemeteries—Visits to the Dead—Singular Tombstones—Literature—Difficult Language—Lord Byron's Opinion—Partiality for English—Lancasterian Schools—Commerce—Other sources of Wealth—Ingenious Mechanics—Value to Turks—Schism—Persecutions and Exile—Restoration—Bulgarians—Indifferent Character—Franks' Privileges—Variety of Tongues—Peraotes—Pisani—Frank Burying-ground—Tombs—Hampden. 404

CHAPTER XVII.

Jews—Numbers—Usages—Whence they came—How received by Turks—Appearance of Messiah—Disposition to become Christians—Proselyte exiled and restored—Arabs—Principal occupations—Rice Talisman—Turks—Ulemah—Notions of testimony—Mode of Worship—Fasting at Ramazan—Alms-giving—Charity to inferior Animals—Circumcision—Rite performed on young Prince—Pilgrimage to Mecca—Sets out from Scutari—Sacred Camel—Superstitions—Dancing and howling Dervishes—Libraries—of the Seraglio—of Rhaghib—Printing Press at Scutari—Books published—Flowers—Culinary Vegetables—Coins—Inaptitude of Turks for the Arts—Anecdote—State of Women—Character—Opinion of their Souls—Character of Men—Revolutions. 443

APPENDIX.

Page

I. Books printed at the Patriarchal Press at Constantinople . 487

II. First Dragoman's Report to British Ambassador . . 490

III. Lord Strangford's Letter to Lord Liverpool . . . 492

IV. Fetva and Warning issued from the Mosque of Santa Sophia, February, 1823 494

V. Turkish Song sung at the Coffee-house at the Palace-gate during the Ramazan 500

VI. Firman published in June, 1824 501

VII. Anecdotes of the Turkish Revolution 502

VIII. Capitulation, or Articles of Peace, between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire 525

IX. Firman for Emancipating Slaves 528

X. Catalogue of Armenian Books published at the Patriarchal Press 529

XI. Translation of a Berat by Hatta Sherif . . . 531

XII. Extracts from a Work written by a converted Jewish Rabbin 533

XIII. List of Turkish Books printed at Scutari . . . 537

XIV. Climate of Constantinople 538

IV.* Inscription at Teos, &c., (after) 542

PLATES, &c.—VOL. II.

British Palace, Pera	to face Title-page
Amazon's Head, Smyrna (woodcut)	46
* Hydraulic Pillars (woodcut)	104
Tomb of British Ambassador (Chalki)	142
Ancient Mosaic in the Church at Nicæa (woodcut)	184
Figures in the Chapel at Nicæa (woodcut)	184
Hailstones	333
Remains of Pillar (woodcut)	357
Pillar of Arcadius	358
Greek Sacramental Bread (woodcut)	385
Greek Cross (woodcut)	387
Armenian Tombstones (woodcut)	424
Ditto ditto	425
Frank Monumental Sculpture (woodcut)	442
Turkish Library	472
Imperial Cypher	480
Inscriptions at Teos, &c.	542

* By a mistake of the Engraver, the pillars represented in the perspective are more numerous than they ought to be.

NARRATIVE

OF A

RESIDENCE AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

CHAPTER I.

Mode of making Slaves—Exposure in Markets for Sale—Anecdotes of Slaves—Infamous Treatment of Boys—Sciote Hostages—Sent to the Porte—Unexpected Execution in the Streets—Reasons assigned—Promise to Lord Strangford—Sympathy of the English—Escape of many Greeks—Fugitives in Palace Garden—Consolation of the Scripture in their own Language—Application of Torture—Various kinds—Few escape with life—Disorganization of the Capital—Excesses of the Populace—Avowed resolution of the Sultan—Energetic Measures—Summary Punishments—Censorship of Books—Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia—Greek Princes excluded—Cease to be Dragomans—Turks first learn European Languages.

THE first news of these events was brought to Constantinople by the caiquegees, hummals, and other adventurers of the rabble, who returned with boats full of plunder and slaves. The Oriental manner of making slaves, and securing a property in them, is this. Any fellows who join an expedition as volunteers for plunder of this kind enter a house, and after setting fire to it, and killing generally the adult males, they carry off the property, with the females and boys. They then proceed to the next custom-house, and having paid twenty piasters, or about ten shillings, they take out a teskerai, or ticket, which certifies the slavery, and then the persons of the unfortunate family become the property of the captors for ever, with all their posterity! If any of them

is disposed to sell the whole or part, he gives up with them their teskerai, which transfers the property to the purchaser in perpetuity. Forty-one thousand teskerais were granted in this way for Sciote slaves up to the 1st of May, of which five thousand had been taken out for those proceeding to Constantinople alone, and generally by fellows in the lowest grade of society.

The usual place where Circassian slaves are sold is the Aurut Bazaar, or Womens' Market, in the vicinity of the Burnt Column. Here decorum is no further violated than in the act of sale. It consists of a quadrangular building, with an open court in the middle. Round this are raised platforms, on which black slaves sit: behind are latticed windows lighting apartments, where the white and more costly women are shut up till they are sold, and there is a certain decency and propriety observed in the purchase. But the glut of unfortunate Sciotes was such, that they were exhibited for sale in any public place, even the streets. The most usual was the Baluk Bazaar, or Fish-market. Here the first exposure was a number of poor girls, of the age of twelve or fourteen, who were sold like cattle at an English fair. Several of them were without trousers, or the necessary articles of dress. Terror and anxiety had so affected them, that they exhibited the most deplorable picture of human suffering I ever beheld, and such as cannot be described; yet they were treated by the Turks with a contemptuous freedom, as if they did not think they ought to show them the courtesies of decorum which a sense of modesty generally induces a Turk to show to any other female. They were taken and handled with the roughness of butchers examining young cattle, and generally sold at the rate of one hundred piastres, or 3*l.* a head. Five hundred were disposed of here in this way, and Turkish men

and women were everywhere seen leading young Christian slaves to their houses.

The next day, June the 16th, was Sunday, and a slave-market was established in Pera Street, leading to our palace. A number of captives had been brought up the day before, and some of them exposed for sale in that place, and this unchristian traffic was witnessed by the Christian congregations of the different people of Europe, as they were entering their places of worship, which are generally in this street, and particularly the English, who passed through them in their way to our chapel. One of them told me, as he was going by, a poor girl of fifteen was set up to a kind of auction, and he left them in the act of sale. This most revolting traffic of Christians had been hitherto confined to Constantinople, among the Turks themselves, and in their bazars; but now it was brought to the very doors of the Franks, and the representatives of the different powers of Europe, who have made it felony of death to purchase a pagan negro on the coast of Africa, had a slave-market established at the gates of their palaces, where human beings of the same colour and complexion—professing the same religious faith—endued with the same moral and intellectual qualities, and as highly cultivated as themselves—are publicly bought and sold like cattle, and doomed, with all their posterity, to the most degrading and infamous bondage of body and mind that pagan barbarism can inflict.

You have heard it said that the volatile Greek women are not much affected by change of circumstances, and are readily reconciled to the lot which casts them into the enjoyments of a Turkish harem. Never believe it. The horror and repugnance felt by the free-born Greek women to slavery among the Turks, under any modification, is invincible, and they infinitely prefer death. I will mention one or

two among many instances which came under my own personal knowledge. The adventurers to Scio were in the habit of sending girls as presents to their friends at Constantinople, as people in England send game after a day's sport. The Capitan Pasha sent a young Sciote to a Turk in the capital. He was an elderly man, of serious deportment; and he received the girl gravely but kindly. In a paroxysm of despair, however, she would not submit to her lot with tranquillity—so she proceeded with great violence to break every thing in the apartment within her reach. Her master sat smoking his pipe on the divan, looking on with an imperturbable countenance, showing no anger, but occasionally moving his hand towards her, with the quiet intimation that she should sit down and be composed. At length she twitched the chibouque out of his mouth, and with the bowl of it broke a large mirror. The Turk now rose with his usual gravity, and drawing his yatagan, before she turned about, cut off her head, and opening the lattice threw it and her body into the street, not far from the wall of the palace garden.

Another was sent in the same way to a man who grew so much attached to her that he proposed to marry her, and place her at the head of his harem. This she declined, and declared, if he persisted in his intention, she would kill him the first opportunity. Unused to restraint or control in such matters, the Turk did not heed her reluctance, but married her according to the forms of Turkish law. On the wedding night she contrived to get possession of his yatagan from his girdle, and stabbed him to the heart. Her own death, as she expected and wished, immediately followed.

Another instance of the deep sense of degradation, not confined to the better classes, but extending to all, occurred within my own knowledge at Koorou Chesmé, on the Bosphorus. A Sciote baker, who supplied some of my friends

with bread, served also a Turkish family, and, on coming to the door one day he recognised the person who opened it to be his sister, of whom he could obtain no intelligence. She had been carried off by a boatman, and sold that day to the Turk who owned the house. Her brother, who was strongly attached to her, and was rejoiced to find her alive, determined to redeem her, even by the sale of all he possessed; but she strictly prohibited him. She said she had been so treated and degraded, she was not worth redeeming, and she would only disgrace him—that she did not wish to live, and knew she would not live long; she was prophetic—in a few months she died.

Nor was this spirit confined to women—men and boys showed an unsubdued mind under their misfortunes, which, in the days of Athens and Sparta, would be recorded as traits of the highest heroism. It was the custom at this time to put to death the captives whom they wished to get rid of, either because they were an incumbrance, or because they were rebels, or for any other reason. To this end they sometimes put them into a boat, and proceeded up the shore of the Bosphorus. It seems a gratification to a Turk to select a spot that pleases him for an execution, and hence it is not confined to any particular place, but always performed wherever the executioner fancies. At this time the shore of the Bosphorus was a favourite place. They chose a spot, it was said, to kill, as people would, on a party of pleasure, to dine; they landed, cut off a head, and went on. One of these boats which I passed had on board a boy and his father, pinioned for execution. The day was very warm, and the old man asked a Turk for a little water to wet his mouth, out of an earthenware bottle which is always carried in a caique. The Turk, as a last favour, offered his vessel to his mouth, but the boy, with a motion of his elbow, instantly

upset it—"No, father," said he, "I would at any time give my life to save yours; but you shall accept no favour from them—in a short time you will not want it." Beshiktash was close at hand, so they were there landed and decapitated.

As all the Frank merchants were more or less connected with those of Scio, letters came pouring in, from all directions from their correspondents on the melancholy subject, inquiring with the most intense anxiety after members of their families who had been swept away, first to know if any of them were left alive, and, if it was so, where they were sold as slaves, in order, if possible, that they might be redeemed. A Christian is not allowed by law to redeem a fellow Christian, but the cupidity of the Turks was ready to evade it by selling the slave to another Mahomedan on his account, who was an intermediate person, and then liberated him. The British merchants were particularly active in this holy cause; subscriptions were entered into, and many a child was redeemed and restored to its parent by their kind and generous zeal. One letter that came to my hand from two brothers, young Greek merchants at Odessa, stated, that their mother, aunt, and three sisters were all swept away, and intreated, in the most deep and affecting language I ever read, that inquiry should be made after them. They were searched for, and it was discovered where they had been sold—one at Alexandria, one at Smyrna, and one at Constantinople, and from the three quarters of the world they were redeemed from Turkish bondage, and finally restored to their friends.

Among the multitude of these domestic events which daily occurred to us I shall mention one, the persons and incidents of which came under my own immediate knowledge. It is the more interesting, perhaps, because it displays that rapid vicissitude of the extremes of fortune, which

the more organised and better regulated state of social life rarely presents in Europe, but under the arbitrary governments of the East are so usual as to be scarcely noticed as extraordinary. Among those who, on the first rumour of the landing of the Samiotes, and the partial insurrection of the peasant Sciotes, highly disapproved of the measure, and retired to the fortress, or prepared to leave the island, were the mother, wife, and children of one of the most opulent and respectable residents. When, however, they saw the approach of the Capitan Pasha's fleet, thinking themselves under the protection of the government, they returned to the island, and went back to their own house. Immediately after the carnage commenced. The mother, daughter, and grandchildren, with a nurse and young child, rushed, nearly naked, towards the hills, as the only asylum which suggested itself. Here a peasant who had been employed before by the family followed them, and, with a spade, enlarged a cavity which they found, and the whole party remained buried in it for two days. They were discovered, however, by some straggling Turks, who dragged them from their concealment. They were then separated, as each seized his share. The grandmother and daughter were sold to different masters, and traced out, but the fate of the rest, consisting of two fine boys, a nurse, and an infant, was unknown.

When the slaves were about to embark on board a vessel intended to convey them to the capital, a Turk, unknown to them, but who appeared of some rank, addressed himself to the daughter, whom he saw in the agonies of despair. He asked her name, and, when informed, he wrote a billet, which he bade her put into her bosom, and when she was sold, and her destiny decided, to contrive to have it sent on to its direction. This she did, and the day following a

stranger came to the house of her purchaser, and instantly redeemed her and her mother for seven thousand five hundred piastres, about 200*l*. He then conveyed her to her friends, and she was received into the house of a British merchant, as a present residence.

The next care was to find out her children; and after considerable search, one of them, a boy of nine years old, was discovered with a blacksmith in Galata. The fellow had embarked as a volunteer in this piratical expedition, and brought back the boy as part of his plunder. He was found in his forge, and when the persons in search of him entered he was blowing the bellows for his master, and handing him a lighted pipe. He was immediately redeemed for three thousand piastres, about 80*l*. When brought to his mother, the scene was deeply affecting; she had never hoped to meet any of her family again, and when the little fellow leaped into her arms, she fell senseless on the floor from excess of sensibility. The fate of the other boy could not be traced, and he was given up as hopeless; but he, too, by incessant and anxious inquiries, was discovered, a slave to the reis of a Turkish boat on the Bosphorus, who, like the blacksmith, had joined the expedition, and brought back slaves and plunder. The boy was redeemed and restored to his mother, and after a short time the whole family were secretly embarked on board the Sappho proceeding to Odessa. Here also an anxious trial awaited them. Though redeemed from a state of slavery, and restored to freedom, as far as it could be enjoyed with such a government, they were still liable to the penalty of death as rayas, for attempting to leave the country. The Sappho was detained by contrary winds within the Castles for three weeks. She lay nearly under them, with a Turkish guard on board, while the anxious mother and her children

were concealed under a false bottom below, and hourly expecting a discovery. Providentially, however, they escaped safe to Russia, where they joined others of their family, and I had the pleasure of hearing frequently of them that they were again prosperous and happy.

The fate of other boys with which I was acquainted was also remarkable. One of them had been found, deserted and wandering on the beach at Scio, by a hummal, or porter, of Constantinople, who had been an adventurer in the expedition. He was brought by him in a sickly state to his house in the capital, and was sinking under grief and ill usage. He was there seen by a Sciote girl, who was not a slave, but in service at Pera. From a kind feeling of compassion for a child from her own country, she resolved to purchase him, and collected together, by her wages and selling her clothes, three hundred piastres, which the Turk demanded. She brought the child home, and took such care of him that he recovered his health, and became a beautiful boy. The Turk who sold him was informed of this, and came back and demanded one thousand piastres more, or that the child should be restored to him. The poor girl immediately ran with him to the French convent of St. Louis, the nearest place where she thought she could find an asylum for him. Here he was kept concealed, till in the inquiries made by mothers for their lost children, he was discovered to be the only son of one of the most respectable persons on the island. The poor girl was liberally repaid, and, what she prized more, was taken to live with the boy she had so preserved, and proceeded with the family to Odessa.

But such was not the lot of other boys, who were reserved for a very dismal fate. Some were brought into harems, some were kept at infamous public places in Galata, to which

Turks resort, and some even were exposed in coffee-houses on the public road. A friend of mine at this time coming by land from Smyrna, met one of them in a khan, who earnestly entreated him to kill him. He had been exposed to every surrogee and low Turk passing the road, and felt the misery and degradation so acutely that he would not survive it. Those whose fate was least severe were compelled to turn Mahomedans. Circumcision was performed on forty or fifty at once. I seldom passed through the lower streets of Pera at this time, without hearing moans and cries from the houses, and one was pointed out to me into which we looked, and saw eight or ten Greek boys lying in the hall who had been so treated. If any one of them was found to relapse into Christianity after this compulsory process, they would be immediately put to death. It is thus, you see, the good and pious objects of our societies are totally defeated. More converts are thus made from the Gospel to the Koran in a day, than all our missionaries have made from the Koran to the Gospel in a century.

The atrocious insult offered to every European power by the public sale, brutal treatment, and forcible conversion of so many Christians, was at length put a stop to, not by Christian, but Mahomedan interference. The property of the island had been vested in the Asma Sultana, one of the sisters of the Sultan, who received out of it as a revenue two or three hundred thousand piastres annually. She was of an amiable and kind disposition, and encouraged the industry and ingenuity of the Sciote girls, by receiving various articles of their elegant silk manufacture, and liberally rewarding them. When she heard of the destruction of her favourite island, her grief and indignation were excessive. The Pasha who commanded the fortress and the Capitan Pasha had selected for her fifty of the young girls, the most

beautiful in person and respectable in family, as a present for her. But she rejected with abhorrence such a gift, and denounced the men who offered it. Urged by her incessant remonstrances, the vengeance of her brother fell upon the Pasha of the fortress, who was deposed and banished, and would have fallen still more heavily on the Capitan Pasha, had not that of heaven anticipated it. The license for selling Sciotes was withdrawn, and from the 19th of June no more Christian slaves were exposed in the public streets and markets.

But the catastrophe of the devoted Sciotes did not end with the desolation of their island and the slavery of its inhabitants. There yet remained an event, without which the system of perfidy and blood would not be complete. There were resident at this time at Constantinople the most respectable portion of the Sciote merchants, whose families generally were left on the island. The merchants of different Oriental nations usually live together in large quadrangular edifices called khans. Here they have apartments, offices, and samples of goods for sale, and the whole is superintended by a khangee, or hotel-keeper, who guards the gate, and, with his assistants, takes charge of the property of sometimes fifty or sixty merchants deposited in his care. The Sciote merchants occupied the Valadi Khan, the finest in Constantinople, and here they continued their mercantile occupations in perfect confidence, relying on the protection of government for their own security in the capital and that of their families on the island. They lived in the rank and style of eminent British merchants—had masters for the different European languages and accomplishments; an Italian who attended me told me he had eighteen pupils among them. Their community was increased by three respectable Sciotes, who came up as hostages to Constanti-

nople, when their friends had committed themselves to the fortress on the island.

On the first news of the insurrection they remained for a few days unmolested, suffering only the common anxiety for the fate of their families; but one morning the khangee was directed to send ten of them, including the hostages, over to the Porte, in order that the government might confer with them on the state of the island, and they proceeded thither without guard or suspicion. So little was the measure directed by any sense of justice, or any inquiry into the guilt or innocence of individuals, that the order given to the khangee was to send seven with the hostages, and these were left to his own choice. It had been the custom of the merchants to give him money to inform them of everything that was passing in the present anxious state of things, and of which his connexions enabled him to have early information. He selected on this occasion those who had paid him least liberally, and among others a young man of the family of Mavrocordato, whom he directed to go; but he having more suspicion or sagacity than the rest, slipped some mahmoodies into the hand of the khangee, so he substituted another, Giovanni Galatti, in his place.

When they arrived at the Porte they were seized and placed in close confinement in the prison of the Bostangee Bashi. Here they were detained for near a month, and, in addition to their personal anxiety, had the affliction to know that such of their families as had survived the massacre were every day sold in the public streets and markets of Constantinople. Their state, however, excited intense interest among the Franks, with whom they were closely connected in business, particularly with the English. The ministers of foreign powers interfered with their mediation, and the British Ambassador was so urgent in their behalf, that it

was said he had obtained a promise that no injury should be offered them beyond confinement. Their friends were apprised of this, and the general feeling was that they would be immediately liberated.

I was going down to Galata one day, and had occasion to call at the custom-house, to inquire after some books I expected, and in passing along through a street in which is a market, I struck something soft with my foot, and nearly stumbled over it. On looking down I perceived it to be the body of a headless man lying in the kennel. He was thrown on his breast, and his pallid hands appeared tied with a cord crossed over his back, the bloody neck was seen above the opening of his long dress, and his ghastly head lay between his thighs, with a mild, pale face turned upwards. On contemplating the countenance for a moment, his features became quite familiar to me, and I recognized it to be Chianze Psecha, a Sciote gentleman, with whom I was acquainted. His dress was a blue robe, with red trousers, and red morocco boots and slippers, which he generally wore. On each side the people were buying fish as usual, and passed over the body with as much indifference as if it had been some offal thrown out of one of the stalls. On turning the corner of the street I saw another body lying in a similar situation. As this was near the quay, some Frank sailors had stopped to look at it, but the Turks passed on without condescending to notice it farther than to kick it out of their way.

I now learned that the whole of the unfortunate men who had proceeded to the Porte were that morning taken out and inhumanly butchered in different parts of the town, seven in Constantinople and three in Pera and Galata. They were all men highly respectable, distinguished for the integrity of their character. I send you the names and rank of those

victims:—Theodore Rhalle, engaged in commerce with England; Pantaleon Rhodocannacchi, of the house of Rhodocannacchi, of Leghorn; Micheli Schelizzi, of the house of Schelizzi Katembasi, of Leghorn; Francisco Frangheadi, principal of the house of Contastarlo and Co., of London; Chianzi Stemati Psecha, principal of a house at Marseilles; Constantine Klini, Georgis Mariolaki, Micheli Zaffetta, Micheli Vluro, and Giovanni Galatti, who was substituted for Mavrocordato, and executed in his place.

You will think this careless substitution of one victim for another, and at the discretion of whomsoever it may be who received the order, is a thing incredible in any state of society where a law exists to distinguish between guilt and innocence, but it seems the constant usage of the Turks; they require a certain number of heads, and are not very particular as to the identity of the persons to whom they may belong. When Yanko Calamachi, the dragoman of the Porte, had been executed the year before, the Chouash was directed to bring also the head of his Capi Tchocadar, who had attended with him at the Porte. The man contrived to keep out of the way, and another was seized and executed in his place. When the mistake was explained to the Chouash, he merely said, tossing up his thumb, "Hipsi birdir"—"It is all one," and sent on the heads to the Seraglio.

It is not easy to ascertain reasons for the cruelty exercised by a Turk beyond the caprice of arbitrary power, but causes were assigned for the most unexpected execution of these gentlemen. It was the month of the Ramazan, when some victims must be offered up to superstitious prejudices. This of course was a reason which the Turks would not allow, nor its existence be admitted; but I was assured by those who knew them well, that it had some influence at this moment

of excitement on the fate of the individuals. A rumour had also arrived of another landing of the Greeks at Scio, and of the recovery of the depopulated island by them; so the hand of vengeance was to fall on the Sciotes yet left alive, whom the Turks considered as hostages for the conduct of their countrymen, and justly liable to the consequences of their delinquency; and this they said was the compact implied in the term hostage, recognised by Christians as well as Turks. They further affirmed that they had been detected in keeping up a treasonable correspondence with the insurgents, and had furnished them with many particulars of information which they had the opportunity of acquiring, particularly of the sailing of the Capitan Pasha's fleet, and the number and strength of the ships which composed it. "Not one," said the Reis Effendi, to the dragoman of the English embassy, "has been punished with death without the government having had previous *proof*, or a *moral conviction* of their guilt*. This justification is a most remarkable trait of Turkish ideas of justice. The proofs they never condescend to produce, and the moral conviction is founded on the caprice, or prejudice, or enmity of the moment, and frequently amounts to nothing more than a suspicion that the person ought to be suspected.

With respect to the promise said to be received by Lord Strangford, it was altogether misunderstood or misrepresented. He did not stipulate for their safety, which he had no right to demand; he merely employed his personal interest, which he always did and was ready to do, in aid of the principles of humanity. When the hostages were first put under the care of the Bostangee Bashi, they were received, not as his prisoners, but his moosafirs, visiters, or guests; and Lord Strangford obtained a promise that they

* See Appendix, No. II.

should still be treated as such as long as they were in his care or custody, and this the Turks adhered to while they were alive. You will say, perhaps, that the idea of safety was necessarily included in such a promise; for it is a strange notion of hospitality when a host is allowed to take out his guest and cut off his head; yet this is, and always has been, an Oriental usage. Victims have been treated with the greatest courtesy till the moment they were deprived of life, and exceeding kindness is always a ground of suspicion. Ali Pasha just before was stabbed to the heart by a friendly visiter, while in the act of bowing to take leave; and Halet Effendi, just after, was strangled on a divan, while his host sat beside him in friendly conversation, and knew that he had the Sultan's firman for his safety in his bosom; and these acts were perpetrated with the knowledge and approbation of the Turkish government. Up to the moment of their death the Sciotes enjoyed all the rites of hospitality which the most courteous host could bestow. To Europeans, imbued with other notions of rights and obligations, their death was as unexpected as it was detestable, and to no one more than the British Ambassador. I can testify to the intense anxiety and deep concern which it gave him: not that he supposed that he was accountable for the violation of a promise which he never exacted, nor the Turks ever gave; but he was shocked on the score of humanity, and disappointed that his exertions in its cause had not been finally successful. He never failed, during the whole affair connected with Scio, to make the strongest representations to the Turkish government; and when he was directed from home to represent the sentiments of the King and people of England on the subject, he did so without treating the feelings of the Porte with much delicacy. They were only such as he himself had expressed before,

now confirmed by the detestation with which their cruelty had been felt and expressed throughout that country *. It is probable that this unequivocal and decided reprobation of their acts by a friendly power had much influence on their subsequent conduct. The future horrors perpetrated were of a mitigated kind, as if they wished to regain the good opinion of their friends.

According to the Turkish axiom, that every individual is responsible for the acts of his people, the Sciotes resident in Constantinople were now everywhere hunted out after the execution of the merchants, as the Moreotes had been after that of the Patriarch. All that resided at the khan fled and disappeared. The English residents had hitherto felt little sympathy for the Greeks; but this last act of Turkish atrocity seemed to "come home to their business and bosoms." With a generous disregard to any consideration but compassion for the hunted victims, every house afforded them an asylum, even at the personal hazard of the proprietor. Disguises were obtained, and passages secured for them in ships, and the greater part of them were safely conveyed to Russia, folded up in sails, or packed up in casks. In fact, all disinclination to be entangled in the passing events of the country which the Frank residents had hitherto shown was now removed, and no one hesitated, in the cause of suffering humanity, to disregard the edicts of a government that had itself disregarded every law which is recognized in civilized society.

The principal British merchant in Pera, as kind-hearted as he is opulent, was very active on these occasions. He had three Sciote gentlemen concealed. He had them shaved, and dressed with hats and coats; and when everything was prepared, they took the arms of him and his friends,

* See Appendix, No. III.

and boldly walked down to the custom-house in the open day through the Turks, on their way to the ship. One of them was so overcome that he could hardly support himself, and nearly betrayed the whole party. They, however, got safely on board, were put under a false bottom supported on casks, and arrived at Odessa. An unfortunate young man had applied also to me for an asylum, and I could not deny it. I dressed him in my clothes, and the next Sunday brought him to our chapel. After service I mentioned the circumstance to some of my congregation. They suffered him also to take their arms, walked quietly down the town, and put him on board a vessel about to sail, in which he escaped.

My amiable old friend the Padre Paolo, whom I had left behind in the Lantern of Demosthenes at Athens, had now arrived at Constantinople, and was appointed chaplain to the French embassy. He resided in the Convent of St. Louis, contiguous to the French palace, where I paid him a visit. I found him in his little cell, with three gentlemen, who, though in Frank dresses, had something exceedingly awkward and uncouth in their air and manner, as if they knew not how to adapt themselves to their clothes. Before me no concealment was thought necessary, so I was introduced to the men in their proper persons. They were Sciotes, who had narrowly escaped the pursuit of the Turks by rushing into the convent. Here the good old man would sooner lay down his life than suffer them to be injured; so he provided the Frank dresses, and, when opportunity presented, had them conveyed to places of safety.

But the asylum in which the greatest number, perhaps, took refuge together was the British palace-garden. The proscription extended to all classes, and the meanest man who had the misfortune to be born on the island was

equally doomed to death with the most respectable. A large portion of the artizans of the capital were Sciotes, who were esteemed for their integrity, as well as ingenuity; but the majority were gardeners. Nicolai, the palace-gardener, was from the island. An order was issued that they should all appear at the Porte, and the poor man came to me to know what he should do. I strongly advised him not to go, and took upon myself any responsibility for his absence. All who did appear were seized and thrown into confinement; and as it was generally known that death immediately followed imprisonment, many of the rest in a panic ran to their countryman in the English palace-garden. Every bush concealed two or three unfortunate fugitives, and as it was necessary to give them employment in order to afford a pretext for their being there, they were all engaged as labourers, digging the ground. They were of different trades, which ill assorted to their present employment; but Lady Strangford, whose kindness and humanity was ever accompanied by some playful fancy, made us laugh in the midst of the peril and confusion, by directing that the bakers should be sent among the flowers, and the tailors among the cabbages.

Mr. Leeves had at this time received a number of copies of the New Testament, translated into Romaic, or modern Greek. Many of them had been bought by the poor Sciotes, and were now a source of comfort in their affliction. One took the book, and a group sat round, and listened as he read to them the sacred words in their own language, which they heard with profound attention. On one evening I saw several groups so engaged, and I never before witnessed in so strong a degree the great consolation which the word of God could impart. Many of the poor people expected every moment that they would be sought out, and

demanded by the Turks, and consigned to that death which so few of their countrymen escaped; and under this impression they applied to the book as their only support in peril. The Turks, however, did not demand them. By degrees they dispersed—most escaped to the islands—and some few returned to their employment, when the heat of persecution had passed.

But the persons who suffered most acutely were the clerks and cashiers of the merchants. It has been the practice of the Turks at all times to seize the saraffs, or bankers of any victim who has fallen under their suspicion or displeasure, and compel them to discover any property confided to their care. In this spirit, such of the persons in the counting-houses of the Sciote merchants as did not escape were seized and tortured. Now, as you seem to doubt the existence of this practice, and say that the Turks never employ torture to extract confession, and that the rumour of it was one of the many exaggerations circulated of the country, I have been at some pains to satisfy you.

The place of torture is within the walls of the Seraglio, and called the Oven, because it had been used as such, and this use makes still a part of the torture inflicted there. Before the Greek insurrection, rich bankers, or saraffs, had been those on whom torture was generally inflicted here, particularly Armenians; they were employed by Vizirs, or other great officers of state, or by the females of the Sultan's family, and they were almost always involved in the ruin of their employers. They were the depositories of the money laid up for themselves if they survived, or for their families if they did not. This, for the greater secresy, was intrusted to them without any acknowledgment. On the death or deposition, therefore, of any public minister, the way to get at his property was to torture his banker. He is first applied to for any

money in his hands, and as the return he makes is never believed, and as there is no existing document to ascertain the amount, he is frequently compelled, by the application of torture, to surrender more than he has received, even to the whole amount of his own property. De Tott* mentions the horrible inflictions suffered by an Armenian and his partner, saraffs to Rachub Pasha, the Grand Vizir, who had married the Sultan's sister; and Thornton states† that he had often heard personally from the survivor himself the torture he had endured. The executioner would dip his hands covered with their blood into the dish served up for their miserable repast. His partner expired in the act of infliction.

Among the unfortunate men arrested as a Sciote was one who is called a Baccùl, that is, a little merchant, who sells all sorts of goods in his shop. It appeared, however, that the man was not a Sciote, but a Cerigote, and so, as belonging to the Ionian Islands, was, fortunately for himself, under English protection; and our Ambassador sent over with great promptness and humanity to claim him as a British subject. He was immediately restored to one of the janissaries attached to the palace, who brought him back in safety, and at a critical moment. The prison in which he was confined was that of the Bostangee Bashi. I mentioned to you before that it is attached to the Seraglio, and is therefore supposed to be under the eye of the Sultan. It had been my intention to have gone over with the janissary to this prison, which is one of those in which torture is inflicted, and I was greatly vexed that a circumstance occurred to prevent me. I charged, however, another, who did go, to report to me faithfully what he saw and learned on the spot,

* Vol. i. p. 144. † Vol. i. p. 212.

and I had the following details from him, which were generally confirmed by others.

There were thirty-six Greeks confined there, who were subject to various inflictions of bodily pain, some of which he saw them undergo, by looking through an aperture in a door, and others were told to him. One man was stripped naked. He was then suspended by the feet, till the blood accumulated in his head, and he was nearly smothered. Presently two men came in with large clubs, and in that situation they struck and goaded him till he was left without sense or motion. Whether he died on the spot, or lived to undergo the torture again, my informant could not say.

Another was suspended by the ears on iron hooks, with a weight appended to his feet, till the muscles of his face were all displaced, and the features so distorted, that his mouth appeared on his forehead.

A third had a sharp instrument stuck with needles applied to the ends of his fingers, till the points penetrated through the quick, and appeared out at the back of his nails.

A fourth had a screw pressed on his wrists till the joints were dislocated, and the back of his hands occupied the place of the palms.

A fifth had a screw applied to his head in such a way as to press upon the temples. This was closed by degrees, till at length the compression was so great as to force the eyes out of their sockets.

A sixth had a metal cap applied hot to the head. The Greeks wear a small red cap, called a fez, on the crown, under the turban, about the shape and size of a saucer, which fits quite close to the scalp. This was plucked off, and one of red-hot metal, of the same shape, size, and colour, applied to the head in its place.

But the last punishment was one which may be added to the many existing proofs of the unchanging permanency of customs in the East. The oven, or furnace, was made hot, and into this the victims were thrust, till their beards and the hair of their heads were singed, and the skin blistered off their bodies. The punishment of the burning fiery furnace, which the king of Persia inflicted on the persecuted Jews, was the model, perhaps, which the modern Nebuchadnezzar within the walls of his palace inflicts on his Christian subjects, and these, too, men convicted of no offence, but, like Shedrach, Meshach, and Abednego, the most upright and excellent of his people.

When I heard these details, I considered that it was not without reason I shuddered at the cruel scowl of the white of his eye when I found myself in his presence, though at that time I knew nothing, and, in fact, like yourself, was inclined to doubt the report of these practices.

The Turks seldom suffer those they torture to escape with life, and they are exceedingly vigilant that no one should pry into the secrets of this prison-house. There are few, therefore, who can attest them. I have seen and conversed, however, with more than one who had undergone these inflictions. The first was a Greek slave, who stood chained, with a ring about his leg like others, at the gate of the prison called the Bagnio. His wrists and ancles were distorted by the application of screws, and his whole body so crushed that he supported himself on crutches. The torture was applied to him to extort confession and make discovery among the first who were taken up when the insurrection commenced. A second was known to me at the Patriarchal press at the Fanal. He had been stripped, and a small cord tied round his body, across his breast, and under his arms; by this he was suspended till it cut the flesh into

the bone. He fainted with the agony, and was taken down insensible. He did not know how long he had suffered, but was informed for three days. I knew also the Greek superintendent of the foundery. He had three sons, mere lads. At the commencement of the insurrection they were all cast into prison, on suspicion. Some person, through negligence, set fire to a press containing some papers, and it was considered as a design to burn down the foundery. The father was decapitated, and the lads tortured to confess what they could know nothing of at the time, as they were in confinement. After great suffering they were beheaded also.

Thus, then, you see the application of torture to extort confession is not yet extinct even in the fairest portion of Europe. These people not only brought with them every thing that was barbarous in Asiatic manners, but they will not suffer to die whatever was so in Europe. The horrid practices of our rude and ignorant ancestors, which every other nation has abolished for ever as too revolting to the lights and feelings of the present day, the Turks catch at and engraft upon their own; and they exhibit at this moment some of the very worst features of the worst periods of Asiatic and European barbarism.

The violation of all law and justice displayed in the case of the Sciotes seemed to be the signal for obliterating what remained of them among the Turks themselves. The yamaks, janissaries, and other military, combined, with the rabble of the city, committed every excess with impunity They established a kind of "black mail," compelling people to pay them a certain tribute for the security of their persons and property. In this way they laid all the shops of the metropolis under contributions, including those of the Turks as well as Rayas. But the outrages that excited most

indignation were those offered to Turkish women. Whatever insult or violence was practised on Christian females was a thing too trifling to excite notice; but now Mahomedans were equally so treated. They entered the women's baths hitherto held sacred; and every day females were carried off and violated. An atrocious conspiracy was formed by the leaders, intended to include the whole of the city in a general devastation. They had provided Greek dresses, in which they proposed to disguise themselves, and on the first day of the approaching Bairam to issue out, when the whole population would be abroad celebrating the festival, and, having killed some Turks, to spread the alarm that the insurrection of the Greeks had actually taken place in the city. They expected that an immediate rising of the Turkish population would take place, and everything would be involved in pillage and massacre. It was providentially discovered by the Janissary Aga, that some of them held their meetings at a butcher's shop; and on the day before the execution of their projects the conspirators were seized. Twenty-six Greek dresses were found in the house in which they were about to disguise themselves. They were all imprisoned, including eighteen janissaries. Such was the partiality or apprehension which those fellows excited, that they were about to be dismissed with a bastinado, but the Sultan insisted on making an exemplary punishment. Most of them, including the janissaries, were brought up to the Castles of the Bosphorus, and there strangled. One of their companions attached to the English palace told me he was present at their execution, but having seen some of them die, he could not bear to look on any longer, and hasted away. He had no doubt himself some feeling of what he deserved, and had a right to expect.

The Sultan, having made this vigorous effort of justice on

his own people, determined to follow it up by the total suppression of the outrages. It was generally imagined that the state of feeling and causes of complaint between the Turks and Russians were of that irreconcilable nature, that it would be impossible by any negociation or intervention of other powers to preserve the peace, and the Russians were hourly expected to pass the Danube and advance to Constantinople. This was to be the signal for a general insurrection, in which the surviving Greeks of the capital were to be massacred, and their property seized and appropriated by the conspirators. To this end they portioned out the different districts, with the houses and properties of individuals. To such a height of careless audacity did they arrive, that they made no secret of their intentions; and it was a topic of conversation among the janissaries of the palace gate, that if they were to march out against the Russians, they would not leave a Greek alive behind them. In this proscription of the Greeks, it was understood that the rich Armenians and Franks were included, and, in fact, generally all Christians.

A Divan was now assembled, in which the Sultan avowed his energetic purpose. He declared that he was himself a janissary, but he renounced the title, since it only designated men stained with every crime. If the Aga of the corps and his officers would aid him in putting down the disorders which threatened entire destruction to the capital, he would continue still to reside among them. If not, he would retire with his sons to Asia, and leave the capital to the destruction which impended over it. A hatta sherif was immediately published, ordering that all persons under the age of eighteen and above that of fifty should be disarmed, and that all idle and disorderly people, who were known to be the instigators or perpetrators of crimes, should be apprehended and punished.

The disarming of persons under a certain age might appear a circumstance of little consequence in such a state of things, but it was an important measure. Boys were at this time the most dangerous and intolerable to every person they met. They went about in troops, generally in a state of high excitement, discharging their loaded pistols in all directions. They were the persons of whom we entertained most apprehension when we walked out, and always avoided them. One day I met a group of them marching with a banner. A lad of twelve or thirteen years old ran from among them, and putting his pistol to my breast, snapped it; providentially it missed fire, and the janissary who was with me came up, soothed the lad by tapping him on the head, and prevailed on him to return to his companions. In his way he discharged his pistol at a house—the ball entered the door, and convinced me of my narrow escape.

The mode of arresting and punishing the delinquents was very summary, and was another remarkable display of Turkish process. It was supposed that fifteen hundred persons were concerned as leaders or agents in the plot. A list of their names was made out and given to certain guards of the Bostangee Bashi, who were acquainted with their persons. Instead of arresting them and bringing them, as in other countries, to trial, they had orders to execute them wherever they met them. Patroles went about with these lists, and when they met a man whose name was contained in them, they seized and strangled him on the spot, and then proceeded on in search of others, leaving the lifeless body where it fell. Sometimes they waited for the congregation coming out of a mosque, and seizing the proscribed, strangled them on the steps. Numbers of them were sent in small parties of two or three at a time to the castles on the Bosphorus, and caiques were constantly seen passing

with them—when they once entered, they never were heard of again. Among the individuals who suffered was a very notorious character, who had long been the terror of the Fanal and the Jews' quarters of Balata behind it. This was a Hasan Bairactar, who carried his audacities so far as, with his party, to make open resistance to the patrol. The people whom he plundered were directed to drag his body down to the sea, and throw it into the harbour.

In such a sweeping and indiscriminate execution, where no other proof of guilt was sought than public report or private information, no doubt many unfortunate persons suffered either by mistake or malice: but in the entire disorganisation and long impunity of the populace, less violent or unsparing measures would perhaps have been of no avail. About four hundred of the most dangerous and licentious fellows of the capital were suddenly cut off by this process, on many of whom were found large quantities of plundered property, and a degree of calm and serenity ensued which had not been felt for a long time before, and proved that the Sultan, however cruel and sanguinary, was at least impartial, and no more hesitated to take the life of a Turk than of a Christian.

A remarkable feature was now displayed in the Turkish character, which seemed to be a dawning of intellectual perception, and a suspicion that knowledge had something to do with the affairs of men. Hitherto they had made no inquiry about books. There was no police established as in the despotic governments of Europe who consider that knowledge is power, to guard against the introduction of works too liberal and enlightened for their subjects. Every case of books passed the custom-house, and the gombrookgees neither knew nor cared about the contents, nor, indeed, was any precaution necessary for a people of whom few could read, and those few only read the Koran.

Mr. Leeves, as agent of the Bible Society, was sending off a number of copies of the Scriptures in Armenian, Syriac, and other Oriental languages, to Diarbekir and Mousoul, which were made up in small cases, or boxes, to proceed by a caravan. When he applied for a teskerai, or permit, he was told that the books must first be examined. On inquiring from the British dragoman to the arsenal the cause of this, he was informed that the Porte was now beginning to think that books might do harm or good according to their contents, and they would suffer no more to pass without a close examination, which was confided to the Armenian Patriarch. The Armenians were of a passive and timid character, and had showed no sympathy for their fellow Christians the Greeks, or in any way entangled themselves with the insurrection. They had been even directed by their Patriarch to decline all communication with them, so as even to dismiss any servant or other person of that nation employed about their house. To the Armenian Patriarch, therefore, as to a loyal subject, and having somewhat more glimmering of intelligence than themselves, they confided this censorship of the press.

At first it was supposed that this was a mere form, and that the simple assurance of the British dragoman that the books contained nothing dangerous or improper would be sufficient—but it was not so. The Turks now suspected every European nation, and particularly the English, as promoters of knowledge and the power of the press, and that an appeal to the understanding might be as formidable as an appeal to brute force. The order was therefore acted on with great strictness: all the cases that had been packed up with great care were again opened, and the books taken out. An agent then arrived from the Armenian Patriarch, who, having examined the books, took away

a specimen of each to the patriarchate, where they underwent a strict revision. They were, however, all returned, with the censor's permission to be circulated, and then sent out on their destination. It was remarkable that the Turks, though now beginning to feel some apprehensions about political, had none at all about religious opinions. Though they began to think that one might be affected by human reason, they had no such idea of the other. The Koran and its doctrine they believed were altogether beyond the puny efforts of a human understanding to shake or disturb; they suffered Christian Bibles, therefore, to pass as books from which they had nothing to fear. Not only books entering but leaving the country were now subject to this inspection. A large case was lying at the palace, which I sent off to an English gentleman, who had left it behind. The case was ripped up, and the books inspected. As they were all in western languages, English, French, or Italian, they were altogether beyond the interpretation of the censor; they were therefore suffered to pass, as he sagely said they could do no harm, for no subject of the Porte could read them either.

The people of the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia have the privilege of electing their own governors, who are called, in England, Vayvode, or Hospodar. The one is a Sclavonic word, written in modern Greek Βωιβωδα; the other a corruption of the Russian word, Gospodin, Lord. The first who assumed the title was Rhaddo Negro, or Rodolphus the Black, and it was borne by his successors as independent sovereigns till the time of Mahomet II. The Wallachians, in his reign, made an ineffectual attempt to invade his territories on the other side of the Danube, but they were driven back, when the vayvode was deposed, and the country became Turkish provinces. But very favour-

able stipulations were allowed them. They were to pay a certain tribute, and in return their Vayvode was to be elected by their bishops and boyars; no mosque was to be erected, or Turk to enter the country as a resident, and if as a trader, he was immediately to depart when his business was done. These and other stipulations continue, in a great measure, to be observed at this day, with the exception of the election of the Vayvode, of which they were deprived for the following reason:—

When Peter the Great advanced into the country into 1711, Constantine Besarabba, the then Vayvode, agreed to supply him with provisions; but he was terrified by the preparations of the Turks, and neglected to fulfil his engagement. When the Russians, extricated by the ingenuity of the Empress Catherine, retired, he hoped the affair was ended, but the Turks had received intimation of it, so he was deposed and put to death, and the rank and office of Vayvode were conferred on certain Greek families of the Fanal, who were thence denominated Princes. When a man served the office of dragoman, or interpreter to the Porte, he was then eligible to be appointed Hospodar. The Greeks enjoyed it for a century; they were now, however, doomed to lose it, and the election again to revert to the boyars of the country. To this end a deputation of twelve had arrived at Constantinople, and been for some time resident there, awaiting the final arrangement.

Meantime the Russians strongly protested against this change of the dynasty. They insisted that the original stipulations should be adhered to, that the Turks should evacuate the country as they were bound to do, and that Greek princes alone should be elected as governors. The Turks made a kind of compromise; they agreed to withdraw their troops, but they were stubborn in their determination to

exclude the Greeks, on whom they could no longer place any reliance.

The 13th of July was distinguished as the remarkable era when the Greeks, who for a century had exclusively enjoyed the dignity and emolument of hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia, were now excluded from it for ever. The ceremony of presenting the native boyars at the Porte took place this day, and I proceeded with some friends to the Bactche Capi to see it. Horses ready caparisoned, like those for the British embassy, were in waiting, and the boyars, to the number of twelve, mounted them. The intended hospodars, Ghika and Stourdza, rode in front. They were plain, comely, good-humoured looking men, with broad, ruddy, unmeaning faces, the very opposite in character and expression to the acute, intellectual visages of their predecessors in office. Their dress was a plain cloth dark-blue beniche, with large calpacs, lined below with a broad band of dark-grey fur. They proceeded without any Turkish attendant to the Porte, where we followed them. They were treated there with very little ceremony. They first stood in the lower apartments, mixed with the crowd, and were at length admitted into a little cell, in which the dragoman of the Porte sits. From hence they were conducted to the Grand Vizir, in whose presence they were not at first suffered to sit down till their appointment was confirmed. They were then treated with pipes and coffee, and afterwards installed in the Patriarchate Church.

This appointment was what the people of the provinces earnestly desired, and the refusal of the Turks to comply with their request, and exclude the Greeks, was the original cause of that discontent which led to the insurrection, of which the Greeks availed themselves. It was to be presumed that native hospodars would have more feeling and

consideration for the poor oppressed people, than strangers, whose exactions were intolerable. The whole country was divided into twenty-two districts, called Ispravnikats, over which were placed as many Ispravniks, who were changed with every change of the governor, each hospodar bringing his own friends. Every Ispravnik, therefore, was a *Græculus esuriens* who had his fortune to make out of his little district, during the short time he should remain. It was supposed that every new hospodar brought five or six hundred such dependents with him into the provinces, in different departments. The new appointments would exempt the peasantry from this oppression, and the hospodars themselves from intrigue, humiliation, and corruption in endeavouring to obtain the situation, and anxiety, misery, and a violent death after they were appointed. Notwithstanding this, it was supposed, to the last hour, that one of the family of Calamachi, and another of the princes of the Fanal, would be again named to the situation. The Turks were exceedingly reluctant to part with such profitable and intelligent governors, as "they alone," they said, "knew how to get money first, and refund it gracefully afterwards."

Another place of profit and honour, from which the Greek princes are now excluded, is that of dragoman to the Porte, to which also, from long usage, they had a kind of prescriptive title. On the death of the last, the Turks were greatly embarrassed to carry their intended exclusion into effect. They could not find an individual of themselves in the empire, who was able to speak a foreign language. It was one of the extraordinary features of their character that they prided themselves on their ignorance, and if a Turk was known to be guilty of acquiring any language but his father's, he immediately lost caste, and was despised as a degenerate Mussulman. In this dilemma, sooner than

trust again to the suspicious fidelity of the Greeks in the present critical state of their affairs, they appointed a renegade Jew, who had lately conformed to the Mahomedan faith, and therefore had not degraded it while learning the prohibited language; and in order to have a future supply, a school was established at the Porte, for instructing a number of young Turks in the European tongues, the necessity of their affairs at length conquering their deep-rooted repugnance to knowledge.

CHAPTER II.

Set out to visit Scio—Janissary and Italian Servant—New aspect of Dardanelles—Gallipoli—Lampsacus—Adventure at Abydos—Tenedos Wine—Scriptural usage—Metelyn—Harbour of Smyrna—Inbat—Refraction of the Atmosphere—Curious Confirmation of Oppian's Story—Gaiety of Smyrna—Merchants' residence—Consul Werry—Revolting Spectacle—St. Polycarp—Amazon's Head—Homer's Grotto—Proceed to Teos—Effects of Persecution of Greeks—Valonia—Caprification—First Figs sent to England—Sevrihissar—Aga—Brutal Turk—Sedijâk—Marbles of the Teian Diræ—Remnant of Greek Population—Beauty of Teos—Country of Anacreon—Theatre, Temple, and Mole—Perfect Remains—Contrast of Present and Ancient State of People—Robbers of Corycus—Vourla—High State of Cultivation—Mole of Alexander—Isle of Clazomenæ—Canal of Alexander—Bath of Agamemnon.

DEEPLY interested in everything that regarded Scio and its cruel fortunes, I availed myself of the first opportunity which presented itself of visiting the island, to be satisfied with my own eyes of the actual state in which it was left, and in the hope that report had exaggerated the calamity. To this end I proceeded with my friend Mr. Leeves to Smyrna. We took with us a palace janissary, of the name of Achmet, a stout man with a certain coarse and peremptory manner, as if he had assumed additional importance from the human sufferings his countrymen had the power of inflicting. We also took Giacomo, a light, flexible, talkative Italian, the very contrast of our robust and taciturn Turk. The contrast was equally striking in other respects. The janissary, who did nothing for us, exacted four times as much as the Italian, who did every thing. We agreed also with a Genoese captain of a brig, and having obtained a firman, extending to various places in Asia Minor, we set sail for Smyrna on the 20th of August.

In passing down the Dardanelles I saw it under a new aspect. Many circumstances struck me which I did not before notice. The position of Gallipoli, as we entered the strait, was very imposing. It stood out like a sentinel as it were, to guard the pass; and even in its present dilapidated state justified the name it once had acquired, of καλιπολις, the Fair City, by which it was known to Pliny *. By land it was the most important pass into Thrace; and therefore the Emperor Justinian, whose passion for architecture seemed not to have been confined to churches, nor his views of policy to the civil code, sagaciously fortified this place, and supplied it with magazines to support a large garrison. The barbarous Franks, however, who seemed to have been the precursors of the Turks in bringing desolation on their fellow-Christians, destroyed these fortifications, and the Catalans did more—they massacred all the inhabitants. The Greeks, when relieved from them, again repaired the fortifications of this important place; but nothing could more strongly mark the imbecility into which the empire had fallen, than the impression made by the Turks when they took possession of this key to the capital. As soon as Palæologus, the reigning Emperor, heard it, he carelessly said, "What have they taken but a pitcher of wine and a pig-stie† !" alluding to the stores of provision laid up there, and their worthlessness to the Turks, whose law prohibited the use of such food.

The town of Lampsacus, on the opposite shore, now also realized the ancient descriptions of it, covered with vines, loaded with fruit, which at this season were exceedingly luxuriant, and justified the appellation of αμπελοφυτον, bestowed on it by Diodorus ‡. It is now two thousand three

* Lib. iv. cap. 2.

† Cantemir, lib. ii.

‡ Αμπελοφυτον εχουσαν χωραν πολλην εις οινον.

hundred years since it was conferred by Artaxerxes on Themistocles, to supply his table with wine, and the face even of artificial cultivated nature remains the same at this day*. This practice of making a present of a city was not confined to the East or remote periods. There are many instances of it in more modern times. You are aware that the Charter is yet extant in the Record Office, by which Henry II. conferred Dublin on his good citizens of Bristow.'

As we advanced towards the Dardanelles, we saw a vessel on shore on the Thracian coast. We found she was a brig called the Briton; she was lying in apparently a very hopeless situation, nearly on her beam ends. In attempting to tack she missed stays, and backed aground on a flat shore. This is an accident that every day occurs in this strait, and occasions such damage and delay, that even already in the infancy of steam-navigation the merchants of Constantinople are talking of establishing a steam-vessel expressly for the purpose of towing ships from the Archipelago to the Sea of Marmora.

The point of Abydos was no longer obstructed by the wrecks of the vessels I had seen the year before. They were all removed, and left no more trace of the ships of the Turks than of the bridge of the Persians. Of a Turkish ship of the line and five frigates which were drawn up here to oppose Admiral Duckworth, but one escaped to bring the news to Constantinople, the rest were destroyed on the spot where I had seen their wrecks.

The current ran here with great impetuosity, and if Sestos stood directly opposite, it would considerably lessen the probability of Leander's story. It stood, however, three or four miles lower down, so that the strength of the current would rather facilitate the passage to it. As it was a sub-

* Ut inde vinum sumeret.—Corn. Nep. in vit. Them., lib. xi. c. 8.

ject of some interest to swim in this celebrated spot, we availed ourselves of the opportunity. A rigid examination was here made of every vessel that passed, to intercept any Greek fugitives that might attempt to escape; and having gone through the ordeal ourselves, which was so severe a scrutiny that we wondered how any poor Greek could evade it, we agreed to bathe, so we let down a ladder and jumped into the sea. My companion was an excellent swimmer, and I, as you know, from my boyhood was amphibiou . We found the water exceedingly buoyant, and as the weather was delightfully warm, and no danger of "getting the ague," we seriously talked of adding to the list of fools, and venturing across. Our time, however, was very limited; and after swimming about for a considerable space, we directed our course to the ship. We were somewhat surprised that we did not get nearer, and at length we discovered, to our no small dismay, that the vessel had set sail without us, leaving us to follow as we might. We now attempted to hail, but she was at such a distance that we could not be heard; we therefore had nothing left to do but to exert ourselves, which we did with all our might. Providentially there was not much wind, and the current was strong, so we at length came up with the ship in a very exhausted state. When alongside, we called loudly for a rope, and Achmet, now for the first time seeing our situation, seized the next thing he could lay his hand on. This was a large ship's chain, which even he could hardly lift, but taking the whole up in his arms, he threw it down on us. One link only striking my arm, nearly broke it; had the whole fallen on either of our heads, we should not have lived to thank our awkward janissary for his care of us. When we got on board, we supposed that in measuring with our eye the distance we had swum, it was more than

across the Straits. They are in this place but seven stadia, or eight hundred and seventy-five steps, or paces. We had, however, the advantage of the current, but our experience was sufficient to convince us that the thing was easily practicable by an expert swimmer.

Our captain, when taxed with exposing us to the peril of being drowned, pretended to know nothing of our not being on board when he weighed anchor, which might have been, and probably was the case, in the bustle and hurry of all on board a ship in the act of sailing; but his countryman, Giacomo, hinted to me that the Genoese were *slippery* fellows. His expression recalled their character of old. It is usual always in the East to pay before hand; we had done so for our passage, and he would not have been very sorry, Giacomo said, to have left us behind in any manner. If such a fancy had entered his head, we might say to him—

Vane Ligur,
Nequicquam patrias tentasti *lubricus* artes.

We now passed the Castles of the Dardanelles, and Achmet informed us of their sonorous names. One was called Kellidil Bahar, the Eye of the Sea, and the other Sultanie Kalessi, the Great Town of the Sultan. The town is famous for its pottery, and ships in passing usually bring specimens as presents to friends—we did so. They were formed of a remarkably fine clay, highly gilt, but as rude in their structure as any other work of Turkish art. The soil that produces the clay is very unfavourable to the people. The site is low and marshy, and whenever the plague becomes epidemic in the country it is here particularly mortal. It was now the sultry and sickly season of the year, and we were glad to leave the pestiferous atmosphere.

While lying off Tenedos a boat came alongside with wine.

It was contained in goat skins, sewed up, and for the first time I saw this Oriental Scripture usage. One of them had burst from the fermentation of the wine, so we found that the consequence of "putting new wine into old bottles" was as common now as formerly. The wine was the growth of the island, and it is much esteemed in the East. It is red, with a body not so strong as port, but stronger than claret, and is exceedingly pleasant. In the days of Homer it was not perhaps so good, for the Greeks got their wine, I think, from Lemnos, which was indistinctly seen on the distant horizon; but in the days of Themistocles it was in high esteem. When Tournefort visited the East it was considered the most delicious wine of the Levant*. Its price was no less agreeable than its quality—it was sold at the rate of twopence halfpenny a quart. The same wine is made along the whole Straits of the Dardanelles, particularly in the fertile vineyards of Lampsacus, and was probably the reason why the king of Persia conferred that town upon his Grecian guest.

The ridge of Mount Ida was now seen rising before us, a most distinct and picturesque object, running in a rugged and irregular summit to Cape Baba, the ancient Lectos. From hence the island of Metelyn rose on our view. The first town visible reminded us of its former state. It is called Sigri, with little variation from its ancient appellation †; but the name of the island itself is lost, having merged into that of its capital city, which no longer exists, Metelyn being an obvious corruption of it. It is the largest and finest of the Grecian islands, with the exception of Crete, and has lost nothing of its former populousness, for in the time of

* Le vin muscat de cette île est le plus délicieux du Levant.—Lett. xi. vol. i.

† Σιγριον, Strab.—Σιγγειον, Ptolem., in extremo septentrione insulæ Lesbi promontorium.

Tournefort it contained one hundred and twenty towns and villages. We were anxious to learn the fate of the country of Pittacus, Theophrastus, Alcæus, and Sappho. We found that, when the Samiotes landed at Scio, the whole population of the principal towns of Plumari and Ayasso, in Metelyn, were in a state of fermentation; the sudden and awful catastrophe of the former island, however, warned them to desist in time. The Pasha was preparing to march against them, the same populace was ready to pour in among them from the main, and no doubt the same scenes would have been repeated on this devoted and flourishing island also.

As the Greek and Turkish fleets were out, and we were now just in their track, we expected to fall in with one or both. We met with what appeared to us a large fleet, but they were merchantmen, off Cape Bournou, standing into the harbour of Smyrna, and we entered with them, availing ourselves of a strong breeze which daily sets in. This is called the Inbat, and blows with the steadiness and regularity of a tropical trade-wind. It prevails more or less in all the harbours of the Levant, though they lie in different directions. It is supposed to arise from the rarefaction of the air by the intense heat of the sun in the interior extremities of harbours, generally surrounded by semicircular chains of hills, and to supply the vacuum left by air so rarefied, and preserve the equilibrium, a continued current rushes from without in the direction of the bay where it takes place, and it is always strong in proportion to the rarefying cause, as it is usually observed that the more intense the heat and the more sultry the air, the stronger is the inbat. It is so constant at Smyrna that vessels rely on it as a certain means of entering the harbour every day, and when they leave the port take care to sail every morning before it commences.

Another curious natural phenomenon was, the extraordinary power of refraction in certain states of the atmosphere, arising perhaps from the same cause, the rarefaction of the air, and a change in the density of the medium through which the rays of light passed. We saw Smyrna rising before us apparently beside the fortress, with the houses so distinct and well defined that we supposed we were quite close to it, and were preparing to land. As we approached, however, the delusion dissipated, and when we arrived at where we supposed the town lay, it seemed to have vanished from the place; and on looking out for it we saw it scarcely and dimly perceptible in the distant horizon, fifteen miles farther on.

The bay is also distinguished by a very curious and interesting fact in natural history, which engaged the attention of the ancients, and is recorded by Oppian in his Halieutics. It abounds with a large muscle, called the sea wing *, whose fish is used for food, and whose beard is manufactured into silk. There is also here the large cuttle fish †, which makes it its prey by insinuating its feelers between the shells when it finds them open; but this is prevented by a wise precaution of nature. A small crab constantly dwells in the muscle's shell, "who pays," as an old writer quaintly says, "a good price for her lodging." The crab sees very sharply, and is always on the watch, so when he perceives the enemy approaching, he notifies it to his blind friend, who closes her ample shell, and shuts out the robber.

Curious to ascertain what foundation there was for this pretty story, I induced a sailor to dive down and bring up some of these shells, which we saw lying opening and closing at the bottom. He brought up several large ones: as they lay exposed to the sun they began to gape; immediately there appeared at the opening a little crab with red eyes, and on

* Pinna ingens. † Sepia octopodia.

approaching the finger, the crab retired and the shell closed. In every shell we opened we found this solitary active, little crab, and who is for that reason called the Muscle Guardian*. It is easy to account for the retirement of one animal from the approach of danger, and for the closing of the shell of the other, from the puncture of its claws in the movement; but what nature intended by placing this single crab always in the shell of this muscle, is one of her mysteries. The foundation, however, for Oppian's pretty story is not a fiction.

The approach to Smyrna was very enlivening. Of all the cities of the Apocalypse, this is the only one which is not desolate. There was no denunciation of the removal of its candlestick, like that of Ephesus, and it is now perhaps as populous and flourishing as it was in the time of the Apostles. It happened to be the morning of the day of St. Louis, and the French were celebrating the Christian festival with great pomp and show. The harbour was crowded with ships of all nations. Six French men-of-war and a number of merchant vessels had their yards and rigging decorated with flags of all gay colours. Salutes of cannon were returned from ship to ship, and visits of ceremony in canopied boats, attended with bands of music, were everywhere passing, filled with company in their gayest attire, and the whole presented a scene of hilarity and freedom which I was not prepared to see Christians enjoy in a Turkish port at this dismal time. The evening was concluded with a grand ball for the better classes, while the lower were rioting and dancing, and shouting through the streets. In effect, the French were living in this great city in the same style now as Sonnini found them half a century ago †. They seemed to consider it as belonging to them, and were as much at home

* Καρκίνος ἴνναισι, φίρεσι δέ μίν ἤδε φυλάσσει
Τῷ καὶ πινοφύλαξ κικλήσκεται.—Op. Hal. lib. ii.

† Sonnini, Travels, vol. ii. p. 329.

at Smyrna as at Marseilles. The Turks acquiesced in all this mirth with a passive kind of toleration. They did not prevent it, though they afterwards complained of it.

The establishments of the merchants here are among the most splendid and commodious in the East. The Frank quarter where they are situated forms a marino, with a range of edifices running along the shore. The lower part is devoted to offices and stores, the upper consists of long galleries, terminating in saloons which overlook the sea. These galleries and saloons are lofty and spacious, and freely ventilated by the daily inbat, which blows directly through them. We first visited the Consul Werry, a venerable patriarch of eighty, who, in the painful and perilous scenes of the year before, displayed the vigour and intrepidity of youth. Instead of preparing to retire from the danger on board the ships like others, he put on his consular coat, and marching up and down the Marino, with the skirts swaggering between his legs, he set the Turks at defiance in the midst of the persecution which threatened to involve the whole Christian population in the carnage of the Greeks. From his fearless and uncompromising demeanour, the Turks conferred on him the appellation of Delhi, a name which they give to such of their own soldiers as distinguish themselves by their headlong intrepidity, and respected him accordingly. We afterwards found him a very hospitable and pleasant man, full of anecdote and information. We took up our abode, however, with the Rev. Mr. Arundell, the chaplain, in whom I discovered an old friend.

The present town forms a semicircle of about three miles in extent at the termination of the harbour. The northern extremity ends in a flat marsh, the other in a ridge of hills, on which stand many conspicuous ruins, which mark the more healthful and eligible site of the ancient town. These

of course we proceeded to explore. As we approached, the first thing that struck us was an intolerable odour, which exhaled from the shore at the base of the hills. We found it to proceed from the remains of different animals which were thrown there, and rotting in various stages of putridity. To add to the revolting effect of this, we were told that it had been the spot where the Greeks were generally massacred. During the ferment in Smyrna the year before, nearly eight hundred unfortunate victims were dragged to this place, and assassinated in cold blood. Here, as in Constantinople, the Turks had favourite spots for taking away human life, and, as if to show their contempt, they perpetrated the deed among the carcasses of dogs and horses. Through the mouldering remains of this Golgotha we recognized human bones mixed with those of the inferior animals, and we hastened to leave a spot rendered frightful by the atrocities committed, as it was dangerous from the foul miasma generated under a burning sun. As we passed it we met some Turks, who seemed disposed to be more than usually rude and ferocious, addressing us in a coarse and boisterous manner, and discharging their pistols close beside us, as if the recollection of their cruelty had rendered them more brutal in the vicinity of the place where it had been indulged.

As we ascended the hill we found it encumbered with the remains of walls. Neither ruins nor coins have much interest with me unless they illustrate some event, and then, as they are the auxiliaries of history, they become no less interesting than important. Here are the ruins of a stadium, a temple, and a fortress still standing. The two first are marked by a striking event. The church is that of St. Polycarp. He was the disciple of St. John, and the first bishop of Smyrna appointed by the infant Christian church, not long after the death of Christ. After living to

the age of one hundred and four he was burnt alive in the theatre, or stadium, contiguous to his church, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The idea of a Christian bishop taken from his place of worship, and led into a place of public amusement to be burnt, as one of the spectacles to entertain the audience, affords another instance of the many frightful pictures of the ferocity of that period, as the event happened in the most opulent city, and among the most polished people of Asia. It was in keeping with the modern sacrifice of Christians, the remains of which we had just passed, but it surpassed it as much in atrocity as the refinement of the polished Romans exceeded the barbarism of the Turks. In the wall beside the gate of the fortress stands a colossal head of white marble. It is now greatly mutilated by the Turks, who usually make it a butt at which to discharge their tophecks and pistols. In this way the nose has been obliterated and the other features injured, but there remains sufficient of the soft features and flowing hair to designate it to be the bust of a woman; and hence it has been con-

jectured to be that of the Amazon who founded Smyrna, and which is seen on the early medals as the emblems of the city *.

Among the objects of curiosity which strangers visit is the Meles, a small stream which runs beside the town. It is one of the places that lays claim to Homer, from whence he is called *Melesigenes*, and his poems *Meletææ Chartæ*. Various medals of the town have his head impressed on them, and tradition affirms that the Iliad was composed on the banks of its river, in a grotto still to be seen. We traced the stream from its muddy mouth a considerable way towards its source, but could find no grotto like one where, according to the Anthology, Apollo said he sung, and Homer copied his verses †. The stream is not at all romantic, and the least calculated to inspire a poet.

Details of this celebrated city, so well known and so frequently given, you will not require of me; so, after visiting everything sight-worthy in it and its vicinity, we prepared to visit a less known, but more interesting object of curiosity.

There is a peninsula which projects from hence into the Ægæan, which lies out of the road to any populous places, and is therefore seldom traversed by travellers. The district now, as in other ages, has a bad name, a range of hills stretching through it, called Corycus, which Strabo and Pliny say was so infamous for depredations, that Corycian and robber were synonymous terms ‡. The moral qualities of the inhabitants, like features of nature, continue unchanged at the present day, and they are so notorious that few venture to travel among them. We took, however, an

* Ab Amazone condita Smyrne.—Pl. lib. v. cap. 29.

† Ἐγω ὑ' αἰδων, χαϱασσι δε θειος Ὁμηϱος.

‡ Corycus obsessus prædonibus, a quorum insidiis clancularios observatores Κώϱυκαιους dici.

additional janissary, and two armed surrogees, and set out with a cavalcade of nine horses. Our principal object was to visit Teos, the town of Anacreon, which is situated near the extremity of the peninsula. This celebrated place lies in this solitary district, like another Tadmor in the desert, and very few travellers have explored it. One of the first, I believe, who published any account of its present state was Chandler, who was sent to examine it by the Dilettanti Society, in 1734, and since then it was visited by others, whose details of it excited our curiosity in a high degree.

A few miles from Smyrna the country was very beautiful —the hills wooded to their summits, opening into deep romantic glens, and sometimes expanding into fertile vales. These seemed but a short time ago to be highly cultivated, and we saw everywhere the remains of vines, figs, and other fruit trees; but the branches were torn down, the enclosures broken through and trampled. They had belonged to the unfortunate Greeks, who had fled or were killed, and the wild boar and the fox had already taken possession of them. The only human beings we saw in these beautiful and cultivated spots were some gipsies. A horde had pitched an encampment here, and formed, with their dark visages, squalid aspect, and conical tents, a little village like a Hottentot kraal.

Our way from hence lay through a forest of the oak which yields the valonia*, which forms so extensive an article of commerce from the Levant. The part used is the calyx of the fruit, which is of immense size, and possesses powerful astringent qualities. It was just the time of the valonia harvest, and they were gathering it in. Some men were beating the branches with long poles, and others were collecting, with hooked instruments, the acorns which co-

* Quercus Ægilops.

vered the ground. As we looked on, the people touched the soles of their shoes, to intimate to us that the fruit was used for tanning leather.

This is the region of figs, and they were gathering in the harvest of these also. We could not find that the process of caprification, so frequently described by writers, was practised in this place, though we had curious evidence that nature still carries it on unnoticed by man. The theory, you know, is this: the parts of fructification in the fig reside within the germen of the fruit, and covered by the rind, so that the pollen of the male cannot be communicated by the ordinary process which takes place in other plants. But nature has provided a very curious mode of communication. A gnat, or cynips, is found always on the pollen-bearing plant, which, at a particular season, perforates the esculent fruit for the purpose of depositing its eggs; and in so doing bears with it the fructifying farina, and impregnates all the pistilla within, which, without such a circumstance, could never come in contact with it, or duly ripen the fruit; and to facilitate this process it is usual, in some places, to plant the barren fig on which the insect is found beside the others, or fasten it by a thread, like a necklace, round the fruit-bearing tree, and so artificially promote this mode of caprification. That the process does take place I saw exemplified by fact. In a house where figs were pressed and packed for exportation, I perceived the walls and ceiling covered over with small worms busily moving about. They were the larvæ of the cynips, which had been deposited withinside the fig, and, becoming animated in due season, had forced their way out of their "procreant cradle," and so crawled over the walls of the house; all the figs had small perforations from which they had escaped. This is so constantly the case, that the fruit ships which carry the figs to England swarm with these

insects at a particular time; and a gentleman told me, who came a passenger in one of them, that he was awoke in the morning by an intolerable itching, and found himself and his berth covered over with them. I am always well pleased when I can add anything to illustrate the beautiful mysteries of nature in her operations. You remember Darwin's personification of Caprifica striking her talisman, and the progress of her airy lover, like a knight of romance, mounting his winged steed and flying to her chamber-door*. It is a companion for Oppian's account of the cancer and the pinna; and the poets, you see, were not without good foundation for their fictions.

There is another circumstance connected with the figs here, which may interest you to know. The Turks are remarkably fond of them, and, like the Athenians of old, prohibited their exportation, and sycophants formed a class as numerous among one people as the other. But Charles II. of England, it seems, was fond of figs also: so in the year 1676 a commercial treaty was concluded with Mahomet IV. by our then ambassador, Sir J. Finch, by which it was stipulated, "that two ship loads of figs should be allowed to be annually exported from Smyrna, for the use of the king's kitchen." These and currants were the only *commestibili* legally allowed to be exported from Turkey, and under the shadow of this treaty all England has been since supplied with them.

From hence we entered a rich plain, terminated by a village at each end. From its situation and fertility it was probably very early cultivated; and we found the remains of ancient edifices and ancient practices. We saw pillars which announced an ancient temple, and the ruins of an altar, with an imperfect Greek inscription, now converted

* Botan. Gard., Canto iv. v. 439.

into an apparatus for a shower-bath. The plain was entirely intersected by trenches for the process of irrigation, and carried on exactly as it was in the days of Homer. A man stood with a mattock in his hand, and opening the communication between the trenches, the water trickled down the gently-inclined planes, and, as the poet says, often overtook him in their progress.

In the evening we approached the sea, and the island of Samos rose conspicuous on the distant horizon. Two Turkish towns lay before us on either hand, Sevrihissar and Sedijâk, and as the latter was a walled town, and we should be subject to the restraint of a fortified place in these unsettled times, we preferred the former, and proceeded thither. We entered the town, and were met by a Turk, who proposed to lead us to the Aga. We passed through a court-yard, ascended a flight of stairs, and our conductor removing a carpet, or veil, which always hangs before the entrance of an Oriental apartment from time immemorial, we entered a saloon. Here we found the Aga sitting smoking on his divan, with a molha on one side and his son on the other. He treated us with the usual pipes and coffee, and then demanded to see our firmans. He asked if we were French; but finding we were English, he expressed himself well pleased, the rumour having every where gone abroad that we were well-wishers of the Turks and hostile to their enemies.

On retiring, our conductor brought us to his own house, and here we found he was one of the adventurers who had proceeded for plunder and slaves to Scio. His house was filled with both. In the apartment where we sat were two women and two children, whom he told us with exultation he had carried off. Among other females whom he ostentatiously ordered in to attend us was one exceedingly dejected, and the image of hopeless misery. She had been living

happily with an English family in Smyrna, but was accidentally on the island when the storm burst upon it, and was now obliged to submit to the common lot. No distinction was made between natives or others, but every individual found there at the time, who had the misfortune to be a Turkish raya, or subject, was seized and carried off by the first ruffian who could catch them. There was an unfortunate papas who stood waiting on this man. As a brother clergyman, we wished to show him some attention, and offered him a pinch of snuff. The man's countenance brightened up at this little show of kindness, and he stretched out his hand to accept it, but he was paralyzed by a frown and a growl from his master, and dropped his arm and hung his head in a state of the most abject terror and sense of degradation.

We now proceeded to the place appointed for us as a conak. In a case like ours, the Aga appoints a residence at the house of some raya, generally a Greek, who must surrender it to us with all its accommodation as long as we choose to stay, and seek with his family another abode. We were not under the painful necessity of disturbing any one on this occasion, for the proprietor was dead. There had been a population of about two hundred Greeks and four priests in this place. Whenever the Samiotes or others landed on the coast, and committed any depredations, the Turks turned on these unfortunate people, till by degrees they killed them all nearly, and supplied their place with slaves from the island. One papas whom we afterwards saw showed us a severe wound on his arm; we gave him a Greek Bible, which seemed a great consolation to him.

We found that the Aga had sent us a present of ten fowls and a basket of melons, so Giacomo cooked for us a good supper. While preparing to sit down, our officious Turk

sent us word that he would visit us after supper; but before we had well begun he came in, with a person he called his dragoman. Though he said he was already done, he began again, and devoured a considerable portion of the fowls we had dressed, assisted by his dragoman, clawing everything before him with his dirty hands. The only use he made of his knife was connected with a revolting remark which no human being but a Turk could make. After flourishing it, he divided a fowl, and said, with much satisfaction, that he had acquired his dexterity by practice in cutting off the heads of Greeks. At first he made a show of taking nothing but water; presently, however, he took wine and then rum, without scruple or moderation. He continued this way for several hours, while we were exhausted with fatigue and anxious to lie down. At length we heard the explosion of a cannon and music in the street. We found it was the celebration of a wedding, so our visiter started up, and went off without ceremony to share in the good things there also. We seized on our good fortune, bolted the door, and took care he should not get in again. I mention this fellow as a representative of his tribe and of those who depopulated Scio. He seemed to regard no restraint which the law of Mahomet imposes on his followers: he affected a certain facetiousness which resembled good humour or good nature, but he was as brutal and cruel as he was selfish and sensual.

Next day the Aga requested to see us before our departure, and we found he did not mean to present us with his fowls and melons for nothing. After coffee he produced a case of silver-mounted pistols and a musket, and requested we would send him others from England of a similar kind, in return for his hospitality. He was very particular that I should take down the exact dimensions, which, to satisfy him,

I did on the back of the firman, and he exacted a promise that we would not forget it. Thinking, however, that it would not be right to supply either of the belligerents with munitions of war, we satisfied our consciences for not remembering it.

We set out next morning for Sedijâk, intending to make it our head-quarters, and from it visit Teos, which is but two miles distant; it lies on one side of a marshy flat, on a narrow isthmus, and Teos on the other. It is a walled town, and we entered by the east gate. We remained for some time standing in the street, and at length were led by a Turk to a ruined area beside a bastion, and from thence, ascending the rampart of the wall, and walking along an avenue filled with the most revolting ordure and offals, we arrived at a square tower, having a square apartment, over one of the town gates, which was to be our dwelling. Nothing could be more dreary than this ruined cell. Its only look out was over the filthy passage by which we had entered, with the smell of which the air of the room was tainted. The rubbish of the wall was falling down and encumbering the floor, and the rotten boards were eaten into large holes. The only window was without glass, and the light half excluded by thick, rusty bars of iron. We all agreed it was the most sickening place we had ever entered, yet it was the only accommodation the town afforded.

Among the motives which induced us to come to this place was, to search for inscriptions, and particularly for one, which has long excited the attention of the learned world. This was the Teian Diræ, or the curses uttered by the Teians against various offences, resembling those extracted from the Old Testament, and used in our churches on Ash Wednesday. The ancients, both in sacred and

profane history, used imprecations of this kind. They were first deciphered by Chishull, a former chaplain at Smyrna, and on which he has written a long and learned dissertation. He considers them contemporary with Anacreon, and the rarest monument that exists, except the Sigæan Marble*. This curious inscription was said by Pococke to be at Erikui, but by Chandler at Sedijâk. The latter did not, however, see it, because the plague was raging there, and he could not enter the bath where the marbles were reported to be. We proceeded therefore to this bath, and inquired after them. The place was appropriated to females, and access was not easy; however, after some time we were admitted for a moment. Round a small ante-room were stone seats, and supporting one of them were two marble slabs, each containing a Greek inscription in three perpendicular columns. On bending down to read it, we were vexed to perceive that the letters were inverted, and the commencement of each buried in the ground; so that any effort to decipher them, before we were again hurried out, was fruitless. A female bath is more sacred than a harem, and it was dangerous, as well as hopeless, to attempt to enter again; so all we could do was to make our janissary promise the Turk, who had the care of the bath, a large reward if he would contrive to have the marbles removed, and forwarded to me for the Elchi Bey, at the British palace. This he faithfully promised to do by the first vessel which sailed from the little port of the town.

This town was one of those which the enterprising Genoese erected on this coast, on the site of the ancient Geræ, to protect their commerce, about the same time they built Galata, and the present inhabitants refer everything to them. There are a few rusty cannon on the walls, and the

* Antiq. Asiat., fol. 96.

Turks ostentatiously thrust their linstocks above the ramparts, to intimate that they are ready for any attack. The interior contains about one hundred houses, the most ruined and dilapidated that even Turkish desolation presented any where else. There had been a population of about forty Greeks, but, like those of Sevrihissar, some of them were stabbed or shot by the Turks whenever their countrymen landed on the coast, and they were now reduced to two individuals. On coming out of the bath a female met us at the door: while the Turks were engaged conversing about the marbles, she took occasion to attract my notice, by uncovering part of her face. I leaned towards her, and she whispered me she was a Christian, and, drawing aside her cloak, showed me a wound in her side. The Turks now turned about, and she again hastily covered her face, with a look of such imploring misery as I shall never forget. I found she was one of the two survivors of the whole Greek population. It would have delighted us to have taken this poor creature with us from her exquisite suffering, but we had no means, and it is probable a few days terminated them.

We now proceeded to Bodrum, the ancient Teos. Our way led through a vale of surpassing beauty; sometimes we rode along green avenues, lined with elms, up which vines were creeping to their summits, and thence hanging down, loaded with waving foliage, or, stretching from tree to tree, formed a drapery of festoons by our side, or arches over our heads; sometimes the prospect opened into glades, through which single trees were scattered, covered in the same way. We often stopped under these viny shades, to refresh ourselves with the delicious fruit, and were astonished at the inconceivable luxuriance and profusion. Interspersed with the vines were figs, pomegranates, and other

fruits, in equal richness and abundance. Flowers of all hues bedecked the ground—the air was fragrant, balmy, and delicious, and we all exclaimed, that if ever a soil and climate could afford a theme for a luxurious poet, this must have been the one that inspired Anacreon's songs, and here was his appropriate abode. As we approached the shore we found the beautiful sea-lily *, justly supposed by some to be the real lily of the poet †, its graceful form and exquisite whiteness giving it a high claim to poetical distinction, as well as its being the only one found in this place.

From these beautiful environs we entered the city, and were no less surprised at the evidence it afforded of former magnificence. We first explored the amphitheatre; and this at once, from its size and structure, proved how populous was the city, as well as how cultivated were the people who built it. It displayed a semicircle of one hundred and thirty yards near the bottom, which gradually widened as it ascended, the whole forming an immense mound of masonry. The remains of the seats were still traceable, and the arches, by which a communication was opened to the different parts, in some places quite perfect. The area was scattered over with fragments of mouldings and broken inscriptions, some of the letters of which were still sharp and legible. The only living beings now found in this once crowded place were serpents, which were so abundant that we trod among the ruins with great caution; everywhere in the passages we saw their exuviæ left behind, and protruding from the apertures in the walls.

Below the theatre was the temple of Bacchus. This had been celebrated by antiquity as the most superb of the

* Pancration maritimum.

† Ὅπως περίπτυ τὰ λευκά
Ῥόδοις κρίνα πλακίντα.—In Puellam. Od. 34.

Ionian edifices. Since the remains have been engraved and its history published in the Ionian Antiquities, and Lord Despencer has formed a temple on its model at High Wickham, any account from me would be superfluous. Among the beautiful fragments of sculpture that remained scattered about were tigers' heads, as emblematic of the Deity to whom it was dedicated. Some of these appear under the low bushes among which they had fallen, and were so perfect, and the expression so animated, that they actually seemed to belong to the living animal, crouching in the shade, and ready to spring upon us from his lair.

Having explored various prostrate edifices, whose remains lay everywhere about, we proceeded to the Mole, which projected into the harbour. It seemed a work of great labour. The length of six hundred feet from the land is still seen above the surface of the water, and we could trace it to a considerable distance farther where it had sunk below. It was formed of solid blocks of stone, nine feet long and two feet broad; they were placed so that two lay lengthways and one across, the latter projecting from the face, and perforated by large circular apertures, as rings to moor ships by, which would not corrode as iron when exposed to the action of the sea. Several of the stones had fine mouldings, and seemed as if the upper layer formed a cornice, projecting over the edge along the pier. This circumstance was a striking proof of the exquisite taste of those people, who finished their moles and piers with as much ornamental care as their temples.

Having for two days explored these beautiful remains, and copied all the inscriptions we could find*, we once more ascended to the summit of the amphitheatre, to take a parting glance of this place from an eminence which commanded

* See Appendix, No. IV.

it. The view was magnificent: before us lay a rich and beautiful valley, rising behind into hills, and terminating at one side in the sea. The whole space between was covered with olives, figs, pomegranates, mixed with elms and platanus shaded with vines, hanging down in the richest clusters. Laurel, oleander, and other fragrant flowering shrubs, formed thickets and bushy dells, skirting the open glades. Through these were scattered vast fragments of temples and other edifices for a prodigious extent, covering an area of probably seven or eight miles in circumference, giving an idea of a city as large as it was magnificent. Among these remains there was nothing apparently of a modern date to be found. They were all of the purest ages of Grecian sculpture, undefiled by any base deformities of the Lower Empire or the Turkish. It appeared as if the city had been left unapproached since the Persian war, when the Teians abandoned it and retired to Abdera to preserve their liberties, and that no baser people had since inhabited it. Age alone had disjointed the edifices, and the different members lay about without mouldering or decay, as if the mild and pure air was incapable of eroding them, and the workmen had laid them there to commence building. In fact, they are the only remains I ever saw of ancient edifices which were not mutilated by time or violence, and they seemed as if they only required to be raised again to their situation to restore the city to its primitive splendour. We took our final leave of this most enchanting place, where we saw nothing of "dreary marshes, and cranes disgorging snakes," as Chandler says, but venerable remains of ancient art, giving the highest interest to the more rich and lovely scenery.

When we returned to our abode at Sedijâk, the contrast excited painful reflections. It was impossible to contem

plate the remains we had seen, without assigning them to a people high in all the qualities that distinguish and ennoble the human race—the birth-place and residence of such men as Anacreon the poet and Hecatæus the philosopher. We now came to the place that succeeded to Teos, where everything was rude and barbarous in the town, and base and brutal in the people—the coarse and filthy abode of ignorance and oppression—and where all that were left alive of the descendants of the ingenious race whose town we had just visited, were two individuals in a state of the most abject depression and degradation.

The Aga requested us to come to him before we retired to rest, so we called on him. We found him sitting on a carpet in a little gallery, in a ragged house, with a glass vessel of oil before him, in which floated a small wick, which shed a dim and dismal light. We sat down on the floor beside him, and he began to interrogate us on the ruins we had seen. He asked us if the town had not been built by the Genoese, and whether Sedijâk was not much better. The historical knowledge of a Turk here never ascends higher than those people, and every event of their limited memory is assigned to them. He said they first ruined the harbour by filling it with stones, and then removed to Sedijâk, as a much better place, confounding it with a similar attempt made, by the soldiers of Tamerlane, on the harbour of Smyrna. When we returned to our dismal and dilapidated tower we had no light but an obscure and dirty lantern. We could neither write nor read, so all we could do was to stretch ourselves on the rotten boards and try to sleep.

We next day set out on our return, and our way lay near the mountain of Corycus. We heard from our janissaries and surrogees terrible accounts of it. In passing along a valley I dismounted to gather some plants, one of them rode

up to me, and throwing up his hands over his head, entreated me to come on, and assured me it was as much as all our lives were worth to stop for a moment. Presently half a dozen very savage-looking fellows with long guns appeared, accompanied by a negro. They at first shouted to another party, but after reconnoitring us, and not liking our appearance, perhaps, they suffered us to pass unmolested, and we proceeded in a steeple chace through the valley, as if all the mountaineers of the Corycus were in pursuit of us. We owed them good will, however, for some service they had rendered humanity. Many of the marauders of Scio had passed over to Tchesmé, and were making their shortest way in this direction to Smyrna and other places, loaded with slaves and plunder. The mountaineers intercepted them, and, by a kind of retributive justice, many of the robbers were robbed and the murderers murdered near this place.

Towards evening we entered an exceedingly pretty country: the roads assumed an English appearance, passing between neat clipped hedges of myrtle and mastic, and the grounds on each side were elaborated with a skill and industry that evidently was not Turkish. This indicated an approach to Vourla, where the ingenuity and activity of the Greeks had given new features to the prospect. Our janissary, Achmet, had bustled on before, and had apprised the Aga of our approach, who had ordered a conak which he had ready for us. We approached a very respectable house, whose inhabitants, as usual, were to turn out and resign it to us. We found, however, the doors and windows carefully closed up. After thundering at the gate, an upper window was cautiously opened, and a terrified face appeared, to know what we wanted. Achmet replied, we were Milordis Ingilesis under his care, and the Aga had appointed this house as our conak. The people then, as submitting to an

inevitable necessity, admitted us. To account for their alarm, they informed us that an attempt was made here, as in all other towns in this region, to extirpate the Greek inhabitants, and one hundred had been killed in the first day of excitement, with a view to extend the massacre of Scio over all the opposite continent. Among them were two priests, who fled for protection to the Gynaceum, or Women's Gallery, of a church, where they were pursued and murdered. There were eight hundred houses in the town, containing a population of about four thousand Greeks; and when we contemplated the effects of their handywork everywhere about us, and the high state of improved opulence and social comfort they had wrought, we were not more shocked at the cruelty, than astonished at the stupidity of their barbarous masters, who, instead of encouraging, sought to destroy so prosperous a community. We were politely received by a large family, in an excellent apartment, not only comfortable, but elegant; and our only regret was that we should disturb them. We were, however, informed that there was another house in the vicinity, which, if we had no objection, was prepared for us. We readily assented; so, after refreshments, we removed to it and were spared the painful feeling of turning a whole respectable family into the streets.

As we were now in the vicinity of some interesting historical records, we set out to view them. Alexander the Great, when he was in this country, completed some works which still remain behind him as monuments of his genius and enterprise. He united islands to continents; and, as if in imitation of Xerxes in Europe, he converted promontories into islands in Asia. The first of these was the island of Clazomenæ, which lay directly before us, about one mile from the shore. Here, says Pausanias, the inhabitants escaped from

the Persians, and were safe, for their enemies had no ships near to follow them; but Alexander, when he came to the country, built for them a mound, by which they might have free and convenient communication with the continent *.

This mound yet remains. It consists of large blocks, with apertures, through which tiled pipes conveyed water from the continent to the island. On this mound we passed over on horseback, though the inbat blowing very strong covered it in some places with high waves, and entered by a quay, or mole, connected with the mound. The island is about two miles in circumference, and consists of two eminences joined by a low isthmus. On the first the fugitives built a wall of defence, which is still traceable from sea to sea. Behind it was a platform, where were some foundations of edifices, and on which the new city was probably built; but all other traces of it have disappeared, except some broken mouldings and two blocks of marble, with Greek inscriptions, which seemed originally one, and fragments of pottery, which are extensively scattered about. We dug in the vicinity, in the hope of discovering some not yet upturned, and did obtain pieces with figures in relief. One seemed to be part of an urn, and on cleaning it we found it to be of excellent execution, the figures quite fresh and perfect, but the design exceedingly indecent, intimating that the inhabitants were of loose and licentious morals, and the island another Capreæ. The place is now entirely destitute of inhabitants. The Clazomenians seem to have been a very migratory people, like all their countrymen. We discovered traces on the continent of two other towns, which they were supposed to inhabit. They removed from the first on the sea-coast to

* Ἐς τὴν νήσον διαβῆσαν κατὰ τὸ Ἱερῶν δὲὸς. But Alexander, the son of Philip —χερσονήσου Κλαζομένας ἔρῤγαζεσθαι· χώματι ἐς τὴν νήσον ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου.—Pausan. lib. iii.

an eminence inland, to avoid the pirates, and from the second to the island to avoid the Persians. Where they went afterwards history does not say.

We now proceeded in search of Alexander's other work. The Bay of Clazomenæ at one side approaches towards the Bay of Teos on the other, so he united them by a canal across the isthmus*, and as he had joined an island to the continent, he determined in the same place to make the continent an island. But the plans of Alexander were not, as Montesquieu justly observes†, the wild and extravagant absurdities of his imitator Charles, and the poet who confounds

Macedonia's madman with the Swede,

did not do him justice. There was a wisdom and utility, as well as splendour and fascination in all his projects, which their subsequent permanency confirmed. This canal was not for silly ostentation or a temporary purpose, but to facilitate the communication between commercial places, by affording a short and safe passage to ships, and avoid the danger and delay of passing round the promontory of Mount Mimas, which was as tedious and difficult to the navigation of the Greeks, as Kara Bournou, its modern name, is now to that of the Turks. We saw the blue tops of Samos peeping across the isthmus, but we could not find any satisfactory remains of the canal, though we traced several elevations and depressions in the direction in which it ran, and which were probably a part of it. The materials of which it was formed had not the permanency of those of his mound, and the work therefore perished when the hand of man no longer repaired it. It would be highly useful to the Turks at this day, and facilitate the approach to Smyrna, the great

* Super angustias, hinc Teos illinc Clazomenæ.—Velleius, lib. i. c. 3.

† Esprit des Loix.

emporium of the East; but such a thing is altogether beyond their comprehension or capability.

On our approach to Smyrna, we passed the Baths of Agamemnon, of which a curious story is told. When the king of men ravaged Mysia, and had engaged with Telephus, the oracle directed that his wounded soldiers should bathe in this place. They did so, and were cured, and therefore they hung up their helmets here as *votivæ tabellæ*. We found some traces of very ancient edifices, which Chandler thinks were actually erected at the time of the Trojan war. Beside them, however, were evidences of a much less doubtful character. These were hot springs, collected in pools along the bed of a river, which certainly did exist at that time, and to which it is highly probable the sick or wounded did resort in search of health, as the Turks and Greeks do now. Every bath was covered over with a shed of reeds, like the tent of Achilles, and it is probable the sick and wounded soldiers of the army had not better accommodation than their commanders were content with.

CHAPTER III.

Aspect of Scio from the Sea—English Consular Agent—Fortress—Suspicions of the Pasha—State of the Town—Revolting Spectacles—Ruins and Human Bodies—Bishop's Palace and Cathedral—College—Fate of Professors and Students—Utter Desolation of the Place—Visit the Country—Similar Desolation—Consul's Garden—Sudden and interesting Contrast—Preservation of Human Life—Terror of Children at the sight of our Turks—Coast of Asia Minor—Remains of Cities—Bay of Ephesus—Swans of the Cayster—Sand at its Mouth—Mistaken for Ipsariotes—Attacked by Turkish Cavalry—Taken Prisoners—Pass the Night in a Swamp—Effects of Conflagration—Phosphoric Light from living Fishes—Released by order of the Pasha—Visit the Ruins of Ephesus—Theatre and Temple of Diana—Present state of Christian Population—Innocuous Effects of Malaria—Tenedos—Provisions sent to Survivors at Scio—Strange Demand and Remarks of our Janissary.

On our return to Smyrna I availed myself of a very kind and agreeable offer of the Honourable Captain Rous, of the Hinde frigate. He was about to proceed on a cruize, and he proposed to visit Scio and Ephesus with us before his return; so we embarked on board his ship. Our first visit was to Scio, where we arrived at night, and cast anchor within a mile of the town. When I came on deck in the morning I saw lying before me this garden of the Archipelago. Just opposite was a magnificent town, rising from the sea, up the gentle slope of the hill. Beyond it the country was covered with gardens and fruit-trees, through which elegant villas everywhere appeared, giving an idea of fertility, improvement, opulence, and population very different indeed from any of the bare and rugged islands I had before seen at a similar distance. On contemplating the lovely picture, gilded by the morning sun, we all exclaimed against the exaggerated reports of the ruins of Scio,

and felt highly gratified that so little injury had been done to this beautiful place. After breakfast, about ten o'clock we proceeded on shore in the Captain's gig, and ran across under the castle, and landed on a wooden pier, a little to the south of it. The first objects we saw were several vessels bilged and dry on the beach. We learned they were some of the ships lying here loaded with the plunder of the island, but in the alarm and confusion created by Canaris and his fire-ships, they had run on shore, and the greater part of their unhallowed freight was destroyed.

A crowd of Turks now came down to the pier, and we recognised among them an old man, with powdered hair, a large cocked hat, blue coat, faced with scarlet, and a long sword by his side. This phenomenon among the crowd we soon learned was Signor Giudici, our consular agent on the island; so having made himself known to us, I presented him with letters of introduction from our consul-general at Constantinople, and he took us under his care. He informed us it would first be necessary to wait on the Pasha, and we proceeded therefore to the fortress. This is a large square edifice of considerable extent, one side of which is washed by the sea, and the others protected by a deep and wide fosse. On the battlements were embrasures, from which fifty or sixty cannon were pointed, and it was approached by a draw-bridge. It had been built by the Venetians, according to the best rules of fortification then known, and seemed to us altogether impregnable by any desultory force the Samiotes and their auxiliary insurgents could bring against it. It is separated from the town by a large green, or common, beyond which it is commanded by distant eminences, from whence they endeavoured to cannonade it over the town, with such small iron guns as they had, which made no more impression than pistol shot.

We entered it by the draw-bridge, and passed through a line of the most wicked-looking visages we ever had contemplated. They were all armed, and evidently drawn up to receive us. As we went by, they cast upon us a scowl of defiance, some twisting their mustachios, some clapping their hands in a menacing manner on their yatagans or pistols, and all seeming intended to insult that sympathy which they knew we had for their unfortunate victims. We now ascended some steps, and were led by the consul to the door of the Pasha's apartment. The usual curtain was drawn aside, and we saw within no crowd of attendants—he sat alone at a distant corner of the divan, in close and earnest conference with another Turk, and we seemed to come upon him by surprise, and sooner than he expected. He eyed us with a look of dark suspicion, motioned us with his hand in a rude, impatient manner to sit down, and when he had ended his conference with the Turk, he turned towards us. All the Pashas and Agas I had seen before had fine and comely countenances, and an unpolished but kind courtesy of manner. This person was altogether an exception. His visage was sharp and cadaverous, his eyes staring, and when he rolled them about, the white gleamed on us with a certain glassy expression. The Pasha who presided at the perpetration of the massacres had been deposed, exiled, and, it was said, executed, as he never appeared again, and this his successor was known to be of a disposition not less sanguinary. It was supposed by the Turks that the former had been sacrificed to European, and particularly to English representations; and when his successor now saw a janissary in a Tartar costume, which always implies that he is the bearer of dispatches, accompanied by English officers, landing from a frigate, and entering his apartment, his suspicions were immediately

awakened, and he took it for granted that he was the bearer of a firman for his deposition, and perhaps commissioned as usual to bring back his head, as he afterwards confessed. He first asked us what complaint had been made against him, and then demanded to see our firman. When he read it, and matters were explained, his countenance brightened up as much as such a countenance could, and he assigned us a chouash to visit the town and such parts of the island as we wished to see. In returning through the line of Turks they stopped us rudely, and in a peremptory manner demanded bacshish; but our chouash coming up with his baton of office, they reluctantly suffered us to pass.

We now crossed the green and entered the town; and here the delusion of the distant view was entirely dispersed by the melancholy reality. The principal street is called Ἀπαλότερεα, or "The Level." It was long, wide, regular, and formed a fine perspective. The edifices were generally private houses, with ornamented façades that gave them the air of public buildings. They were built of hewn stone, like those of Valetta, with balconies on projecting buttresses, and sculptured armorial bearings over many of the doors. The interior was ornamented with balustrades of marble, of a rich vein and high polish, and the rooms supposed of the same materials. The ceilings were curiously carved and gilded, the halls painted in fresco and hung with pictures, and everything indicated what we had heard, that the inhabitants had been a rich, cultivated, and polished people. All was now destroyed or defaced—the roofs beaten in, the staircases upturned, the windows and door-cases blackened with smoke. Among the rubbish lay sculls, arms, and half-consumed bodies, amid paper, books, and broken furniture. Everywhere in the streets were what seemed heaps of rags, which we were sometimes obliged to walk through. They were soft, and the pressure of our

feet forced out the limbs and ghastly faces of the bodies that were lying weltering under them. The feeling of this was very horrible, and whenever our feet got entangled in such heaps we hastily extricated them, with a shuddering that almost overcame us. We visited the ruins of the houses of Strati, Rhodochannacchi, Dimenti, Rhalle, and others whose names were well known and respected in most of the commercial towns of Europe. I had seen the bodies of their partners lying in the streets of Constantinople. Those that remained on the island were hanged out of the fortress, or their limbs were crushed among the disjointed stones of their houses. The Turks had two passions to gratify—malice and avarice. They supposed those rich Greeks must have money concealed in their houses, so, after massacring the men and making slaves of the women and children, they upturned the floors and tore down the stairs and walls of their houses.

When leaving Constantinople, one of the family of Rhalle had requested me to visit his house on the island, bring him back some memorial of it, and faithfully report the state in which I found it. It had been very elegant, and ornamented with columns of Sciote marble, which was highly prized for its rich and variegated veins, and adorned with paintings by native artists, whom, as a liberal and intelligent gentleman, with a fine taste for the arts, he was fond of encouraging. On this house, as more elegant than the rest, the Turks seemed to have exhausted their passions. Besides upturning the floors and rupturing the walls in search of money, every ornament seemed to have been destroyed with gratuitous violence. Marble mouldings were broken off and defaced with axes—the pictures perforated, the mirrors smashed with bullets, and the books gnawed with teeth and torn asunder, as if by rabid dogs. I brought back with me the remains of a burnt picture, and some other things which I found in his saloon; and on my return had it notified to

him that I had executed his commission; but his sensibility was so excited, he could not command sufficient strength of mind to look at them.

After visiting the private houses we entered the public edifices. Half way up the street stood the Cathedral and the Bishop's palace. The Bishop had given himself up as a hostage, and with the rest was hanged on the battlements of the fortress. His palace and elegant cathedral were torn to pieces; half the dome of the latter was standing, and intimated what it had been. In a broken part of the floor in a room in the palace was lying the body of one of his family. Our chouash stood over him, and striking him with the end of his baton, told him to get up, as he had slept long enough: then, turning to me, he said, with a coarse laugh, "He is a lazy fellow—he won't stir."

From the Palace we proceeded to the College, which stood on the opposite side, higher up the street. This was not a temporary edifice converted into a school, but large, regular buildings, with ornamented fronts, forming a regular quadrangle like one of our colleges, containing chapel, theatre, halls, and professors' and students' apartments: it had supported twenty-five professors in the different sciences and languages, and students from all parts of the Levant. The first objects that presented themselves were the bodies of two of the professors, lying at the entrance of one of the quadrangles. They were partly covered with the fragments of their gowns, but their hands and legs appeared from under them. We entered one of the lecturers' halls: the floor was covered with torn pieces of books; I brought one of them away with me—it was part of a Homer, having the original text at one side, and on the other a modern Greek commentary and paraphrase, written by the professor, and printed at the College press. It was an excellent specimen

of typography. Of this college nothing remains but the scorched walls; the professors were generally and indiscriminately massacred when the Turks burst into it, and the students, the rising hopes of the country, carried off as slaves. They are now scattered over Asia and Europe, in the lowest state of degradation as Christians, and forcibly compelled to undergo the Mahomedan rite. When I was at Smyrna I was informed that twenty-six of these lads had been so treated there in one house.

In effect, my friend, I cannot convey to you an adequate conception of these atrocities. You have yourself seen towns attacked, houses destroyed, and lives wasted, but still you cannot understand it. If you think the ruins of Scio like any other effects of modern war, you are entirely deceived. This is not a house destroyed or a man killed here and there, while the survivors look terrified and melancholy. Of four thousand houses there is not one of which the wood work has not been burned, and the stone work, with the exception of some outside walls, upturned from their foundation; nor of twenty-five thousand inhabitants, which the populous town contained, did we see a single individual, nor anything that had life, except a solitary cat and a dog. The ruins are as complete and desolate as those of Teos on the opposite coast, and would appear almost as ancient, if it was not that the numerous bodies lying about the streets and houses indicated that they had been within a few months full of life and inhabitants.

While I was wandering about the ruins, absorbed in melancholy reflections, and separated from all my party except the consul, I was suddenly roused by a noise of shouting and laughing just beside me. Presently a party of Turks turned the corner of the street, and came up to where we stood. They were armed with pistols, which they held in

their hands, and djerids, or blunt spears, which they were casting at the bodies lying in the streets. They took the consul by the whiskers, and slapped him in the face with insulting sport. They seemed about to lay their hands upon me, when suddenly our party appeared, with the janissary and chouash, at the end of the street. The ruffians then passed on, and fired their pistols, not at us as we expected, but at the walls of the houses, from which the balls rebounded at each side. They then went on dancing, trampling, and kicking before them the remains of the bodies, and displayed such a picture of wanton ferocity as readily accounted for the effects we had just witnessed. As it might not be quite safe, however, to meet another party of those savages in a similar state of excitement, we left the town, which we had now walked through, and accepted the consul's invitation to visit his country-house.

It is situated about two hours, or six miles, from the town. We passed through those rich and beautiful groves and gardens whose prospect had so delighted us from the ship, as well as that of the town ; but the distance equally deceived us. We found, on nearer approach, the garden-walls torn down, the villas rased and burned, and the bodies of the proprietors lying about unburied. We made our way through enclosures now unfenced, and saw vines, figs, pear, and peach trees torn about in every direction, while the fruit was hanging on the branches or lying on the ground in the greatest profusion, and no one to gather them. In fact, we met nothing that had life, in the country no more than in the city ; the very birds seemed to have been scared away by the carnage—we neither saw nor heard them or any other sound than the dismal yell of a solitary dog, which seemed to be howling over the remains of his master.

In the midst of this solitude we arrived at the consul's house ; and here a scene presented itself which astonished

as much as it interested us. He took me by the hand, and suddenly led me by a short turn into his garden from the court-yard. The whole place swarmed with a little colony. Under the trees were tents and huts everywhere erected, which were filled with women and children, whose husbands and fathers had been murdered. The former had made their escape, some naked, some with children on their backs and arms, to this worthy man, who, at the hazard of his own life at this perilous time, had afforded them protection and an asylum. He erected for them such shelter as, on the emergency of the moment, he could provide, and he sent out every day to gather the waste fruits to feed them. Providentially for this act of humanity, the climate was mild and the fruits abundant, so they were not only kept alive, but in good health. As we walked among them, they brought us nightcaps and stockings, and other little articles which they were manufacturing. Some of these forlorn women supported their situation with a melancholy cheerfulness, characteristic of the Greek disposition; but others seemed quite unable to bear up against the calamity. Among these were two or three of the most respectable on the island. Their husbands had been massacred, their children made slaves, and they sat solitary and unmoved within their huts, taking no notice of us, and absorbed only in their own deep and dismal reflections.

The children, however, all gathered round us, and walked with us everywhere, either holding by our hands or the skirts of our coats, looking up to us with faces full of confidence and pleasure, as if they knew by intuition that we were friends, and interested for them; but while we were distributing a few paras among them, they were seized with some sudden terror, and all disappeared. The cause was soon manifest. The chouash and the janissary had just entered the garden, and these poor children fled

from the sight of a Turk with the same instinctive terror that a kid flies from the sight of a tiger. There were in this garden two hundred and seven women and children, which, with the exception of a few in other consulates, were all that remained on the island out of a population of more than one hundred thousand souls, which six months ago formed the enlightened and happy population of this rich and beautiful island. We remained till it was dark, often affected even to tears, in the midst of these poor people. The consul told us they were sadly distressed for bread, and Captain Rous, who is the kindest man living, sent them, on his return on board, several sacks of biscuits. Even the little midshipmen were so affected at what they saw, that they put themselves on an allowance, and sent them the bread of their mess.

On leaving the consul, he produced to us some forms of certificates given him by different travellers who had visited the place, and asked, with some diffidence, whether we would have any objection to add our names. We certainly had not; on the contrary, we readily testified to what we had seen. Some injurious reports had been spread of this man, which we had heard, and we therefore gave our testimony with the more good will. The sight we had witnessed was the most interesting that could engage the feelings of the human heart, and in which there could be no deception. At his own personal hazard he gave an asylum, and saved from certain destruction or intolerable misery, more than two hundred helpless fellow-creatures, in the most forlorn condition, and afterwards treated them, as we saw and as they felt and acknowledged, with the kindness of a father. Of the Greek Catholics of the island, amounting to eight hundred, about three hundred were saved in the French consulate; the rest disappeared. I do not wish

to detract from any exertion in the holy cause of humanity, and no doubt but the French consul, M. Digeon, is entitled to every praise; but while his deeds are extolled with the most extravagant encomiums by his countrymen, who go so far as to say that the surviving Sciotes were compensated for the massacre of their friends by his benign presence on the island, the similar services of the English consul were not merely not praised, but they are censured by the English; and when he wrote to Constantinople to say the destruction of Scio was equal to that of Jerusalem, he was answered by being asked, in a contemptuous manner, what did he know of the destruction of Jerusalem.

We sailed from Scio along the coast of Asia Minor, passing the promontory of Myonesus, which exhibits the same appearance now as it did in the time of Strabo and Livy: rocks forming a ridge, from the summit of which one rose like a meta or goal, having the town on a conspicuous eminence, and the sides next the sea eaten into bare and ragged surfaces;—how unchanged is the face of Nature, after a lapse of two thousand years! We now looked out for Lebedos and Colophon. We thought we discovered on the shore the ruins of the latter; but it was in vain to look for the former, which in the time of Horace was a ruin, "desertior Gabiis."

The coast now took a magnificent sweep, forming a great bay, at the bottom of which was the Plain of Ephesus. While the ship was nearing it we took an early dinner, in order to have time to explore it before night. At my request, our worthy consul at Scio had procured some genuine Chian wine, made on the side of the island next Ipsara, on the Arvisian plains, where, according to Virgil, "Vina novum fundavit calathis Arvisia nectar." This we had no spirits to drink in the charnel-house of the island,

but we now produced it, and found it very good, and exactly answering the character given by the ancients. It was of a light-red colour, with a strong body, and rather an austere taste and tonic action, assisting the digestion as a stomachic, and forming an agreeable mixture with the sweeter Falernian, for all which see Horace, and, if you please, Athenæus*.

It was now three o'clock, and we had cast anchor within two miles of the mouth of the Caÿster. About six miles below us on the coast was Scala Nova, built on the side of a hill; and just opposite was the island of Samos, divided only by a very narrow channel, which was not visible, for the island seemed joined to the continent. As the Samiotes were in the constant habit of landing here and skirmishing with the Turks, we thought it prudent to go on shore in a large body, so we put off in two boats, forming a company of eighteen, generally armed with fowling-pieces. We landed through a rolling surf on the beach in high spirits, and having crossed the bar at the mouth of the river, proceeded up the plain.

This magnificent plain extends for eighteen miles into the country, and is generally seven or eight miles wide. The sides are formed by romantic hills, advancing by irregular projections into the plain, and clothed with woods and ruins. Through the centre winds the Caÿster, with such a tortuous course, that some authors have mistaken it for the Meander, and at this day it is called by the Turks Kutchûk Mender, the "Little Meander." The river now, as formerly, abounds with swans, which have been celebrated by every author, from Homer to Virgil inclusive†.

* Deipnon. lib. i.

†Κυκνῶν—Καύστριον αμφι ρεεθρα.—Hom. Quæ—in stagnis rimantur prata Caÿstri.—Virg. Georg.

The first object we saw on entering the bay was a large flight of these swans, cleaving their way at a great height in the air. We proceeded up along the banks of the river for several miles without coming to the ruins of the town, and as it was now growing late, and Captain Rous wished us to return on board before it was dark, he signalled us to come back. We were at this time scattered over the plain in all directions, and in order to collect together we began shooting and shouting to each other. I was botanising near the river with the First Lieutenant, when suddenly a large herd of buffaloes, which were grazing on the plain, took fright, and ran snorting and tossing their heads towards a village which we saw at some distance up in the hills. Presently after we heard the tattoo of a distant drum; and I remarked to my companion that the Turks had certainly taken us for a party of Samiotes who had landed, as was frequent in this place, to drive off cattle and plunder the country, and the tattoo of the drum was a signal. We now therefore hastened back, and coming to a ferry we found no one near the boats. The mode of crossing the river was by a large, flat, triangular raft; over it was passed a strong cord from side to side of the stream, along which a short mast, rising from one of the angles of the raft, slided. On this we established ourselves with our fusils; and nothing could be more like a foraging party crossing a river in an enemy's country. At length we arrived at the sea side where we had disembarked.

Here we did not find the boats—they had been sent back to the ship, that the crews might get their dinner, with orders to return for us when they saw us on the beach. It was now, however, twilight, and the ship was scarcely visible: so, in order to advertise our return, we fired several shots as signals. It was some time before these seemed to

be noticed, but at length a light was hoisted at the mast-head, and two lights were seen in the water, which we justly conjectured were the boats which had put off for us. They seemed, however, to be moving to another part of the coast, so, in order to direct them effectually, we determined to fire a whole volley. Mr. Leeves and I, who had no guns, had walked up along the shore, towards the mouth of the river; I returned immediately to see what was next to be done, but I had not reached our party when he overtook me out of breath, stating that he was closely followed by a party of horsemen, who passed over the bar at the mouth of the river. He had scarcely time to tell this, when we were suddenly set upon by a whole troop of horse. They rushed on us in the dim light in perfect silence till they came among us. They then cut at us with their sabres in all directions, uttering some loud and barbarous pass-word from one to the other. Some of us were trampled down by the horses, some struck down by the sabres, and in an instant, and before we had time for a moment's deliberation, we found ourselves driven in a heap into the sea, and a semicircle of barbarians on horseback, three or four deep, standing over us with pistols and drawn sabres. Most providentially for us there was not a gun loaded among our whole party—had a single shot been fired not one of us would have been left alive.

There was, however, a moment's pause, and I pushed forward our palace janissary, Achmet, who fortunately had come on shore with us. He was horribly frightened; however, he threw up his hands and shouted, "Aman, Ingilesi! Aman, Ingilesi!" "Mercy, English!" This had an immediate effect on the horsemen, and a parley ensued. Their Aga now came forward, and Achmet, taking Mr. Leeves and me by the hands, led us to him. He stated

that we were " Milordis Ingilesi, from the serai, or palace, at Pera, and that we were put under his care by the Padisha or Sultan, at Constantinople, whose firman of protection we had." The Aga informed him that our vessel had been seen from Scala Nova, and supposed to be an Hydriote ship of war; that a violent commotion had taken place there in consequence, and five hundred men were despatched in different directions to watch our motions, and intercept any party that might land; that among them was a troop of delhis, or madmen, a body of desperate fellows, who are sworn neither to take nor give quarter; that if we had fallen in with them there would have been no explanation; but fortunately for us they had gone to another part of the coast. In fine, it was determined that our janissary should accompany two of the Aga's troop to Scala Nova, to explain to and satisfy the Pasha, and that we must remain prisoners till he came back with further orders.

It was now ten o'clock, and totally dark—Scala Nova was distant seven or eight miles, so we had no alternative but to remain all night in the open air, in the most dismal and unwholesome swamp in all Asia. The Turks made a large circle, and we sat down on the sand in the centre. I had been excessively heated by violent exercise all the evening, and now felt miserably cold and chilly. In thrusting my hand into the sand I found it warm below the surface, so I took the hint, and, scraping a pit, I lay down in it and covered myself with a blanket of warm sand. My companions did the same, and in this way we tried to sleep. In a short time, however, the heat escaped, and we were colder than ever. We now requested the Turks to light a fire, but the Aga would not permit it: he said he was afraid to draw any other party, either of soldiers or banditti, upon us, but the fact was he was afraid we wanted it as a signal

for our ship. At length, however, accident procured for us what he denied. One of his men was smoking among some reeds close by: a few embers from his pipe fell on this dry combustible, and in a moment such a flame burst out as quite surprised us.

The mouth of the river where we were is covered over, for several hundred acres, with a rank vegetation of reeds and aquatic shrubs, many of which at this season were withered and dry. The flame when once kindled instantly seized everything near it, and ran literally like wild-fire, crackling, roaring, and blazing over the whole country. Its progress was very curious: it sometimes met with masses of high trees, round which it ran, leaving an insulated spot in a sea of fire. Presently it seized the lower branches, then suddenly rising over the tops, formed great pyramids of flame. We now assembled on the confines of the fire, and mingled with these swarthy Asiatics, with black beards and wild costume illumined by the blaze, we formed such groups as Rembrandt would have delighted to see. Sometimes we lay down on the reeds, till the fire overtaking us we were obliged to run to another place. On these occasions I amused myself with the number of strange insects which the heat everywhere caused to appear. The fecundity of nature in this hot and humid place was quite surprising, producing the miniature embryos of all sorts of monsters, "gorgons, and hydras, and chimeras dire." One of these, which I brought away with me, was a species of green Mantis, three inches long, which looked, with its wings and legs, like a moving tuft of grass, and therefore it is called the Walking Leaf.

To add to the wild singularity of everything about us, we were suddenly alarmed by hideous shrieks and yells, which came from the thickets quite close to us. We now sup-

posed to a certainty that another party of barbarians had discovered us, and was rushing upon us. We soon found, however, that the sounds proceeded from another cause. The jungles at the mouth of the Caÿster are the haunts of multitudes of jackals and other animals, who, being dislodged by the fire, at length collected in packs, and yelled on us with the most dismal howlings, exactly resembling, as other travellers have remarked, the shrieking tones of the human voice.

At length our janissary returned just before dawn in the morning. He had satisfied the Pasha, and calmed the consternation at Scala Nova, so the Aga was ordered to set us at liberty. We were now escorted across the river to proceed to a place where we should find shelter and refreshment; and here another phenomenon appeared, which I thought very beautiful. The river abounded with fish, and glowed with phosphoric light. As we passed over, the phosphorescent matter attached itself to the bodies of the fish, and though it was as dark as pitch, the boat was actually illuminated with shoals of moving lights, that played round us in the most singular manner, every fish being encircled with a halo of glory. The grey dawn now began to appear, and instead of proceeding up the country, our commander determined to return to the ship, so we again retraced our steps to the shore, and found the boats just arrived, with a strong party in search of us. We were heartily glad to embark, and got on board about seven in the morning, just as the vessel was going to get under way to proceed to Scala Nova, to demand us at the cannon's mouth. It seems she had been visited the evening before by a boat, and from her report, those on board had no doubt that we were either killed or marched as prisoners up the country.

We were now preparing to weigh anchor to leave the coast, but about ten o'clock we saw a boat with the Turkish flag standing out to us. When it came alongside, we found in her the Turkish port-admiral, with his dragoman and chouash, sent by the Pasha to explain and apologise for the mistakes of the night before. They confirmed what we had heard of the consternation of the country, and added that the Pasha's life was threatened in the tumult. They offered us, in his name, every protection and accommodation; so, after giving them an entertainment in the cabin, and showing the Sultan's firman, which they kissed with the profoundest respect and adoration, they left the ship under a salute of ten guns, and proceeded directly to the shore to order twenty horses for our escort. We immediately followed, and rowing to the mouth of the river, we dragged the boats over the bar, and proceeded up the Cayster into the very heart of the Plain of Ephesus, a mode of visiting it which, I believe, was never adopted before. Here we disembarked at a most extensive fishery, curiously constructed with walls of canes and reeds, and crossed the Plain to the ruins of the ancient city.

I will not detail to you the particulars of this magnificent place, but refer you to Tournefort, Pococke, Chandler, &c., who have visited and described it. I will merely mention a few facts, some of which I do not find noticed by them. The city was once the emporium of Asia, and the river navigable from the sea, though now choked with sand. Near its mouth commences a quay, which is still traceable for miles up the river, by the large blocks of marble which formed its face, till it seemed to terminate in the foundations of a bridge which here crossed the Cayster. This, it appears, was the high road from Miletus, &c., to Smyrna, as the ferry, which is now near its place, is at present from Scala

Nova to the modern Smyrna. On this quay stand the shafts of some columns of very white marble, but they give no indication to what they belonged. Some miles up, on the low grounds, and near a flexure of the river, are large arched edifices, standing in a range like stores, which I conjecture to have been the store-houses connected with the port. I mention this, because to me, at least, this feature of Ephesus was new, nor did I recollect it was celebrated as a commercial city till I found that Strabo so called it*. I did not know either that the town was built on a hill. The ruins of the city run along the whole range of hills which form the south boundary of the plain, the sides of which are still covered with them for several miles. Among these the Amphitheatre particularly gives you a high idea of the wealth and population of this place. It is excavated out of the side of a mountain, the top seats rising to the summit; when I climbed up here and looked down into the area, it resembled the vast crater of an extinct volcano, at the bottom of which I could not distinguish objects without my glass.

Not far from this, on the plain below, are the remains of the Temple of Diana of the Ephesians. This was built, as Pliny says, here on the soft foundation to guard against the shocks of earthquakes. The foundation, therefore, was laid in a swamp; wool and charcoal were interposed to absorb the wet, and the arches form a subterranean labyrinth, in which water stagnates, all which is so at the present day. The superstructure bears all the evidence of an edifice which was destroyed eight times, and took two hundred and eighty years in building and rebuilding. It now consists of several walls of immense blocks of marble, the fronts of which are perforated with small cavities, into which were sunk the shanks of the brass and silver plates with which the temple

* Εμποριον μεγιστον Ασιας.—Strab.

was faced. In several places where the walls have fallen they have exposed cornices and mouldings of a former edifice, against which the newer walls had been built up. Some of the vast porphyry pillars which formed the front portico still lie prostrate before it, but others, as you know, or perhaps do not know, were brought by Constantine to his new city of Constantinople. The heathen temple was dilapidated to build the Christian church of Santa Sophia, in which these pillars are again become the great support of an anti-Christian edifice.

But the most interesting circumstance of this building to me is the great illustration it gives to the Acts of the Apostles. Here is the place where St. Paul excited the commotion among the silver and brass smiths who worked for the temple; and over the way was the Theatre into which the people rushed, carrying with them Caius and Aristarchus, Paul's companions. Hence they had a full view of the magnificent front of the Temple, which they pointed out as that "which all Asia worshippeth," and in their enthusiasm they cried out, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" to whom such a temple belonged. But that which I imagine would most interest you is part of a street, with the pavement and edifices at each side still remaining, contemporary, perhaps, with those of Pompeii, and yet existing as they were without the protection of a covering of ashes. It leads down the side of the hill, and is paved with immense, large, irregular flat stones, and is about as wide as Ludgate-hill. On one side stands the front of the Stadium and other public edifices, inclosed by wide gates; on the other are the remains of large buildings. The street is continued down to the river by the great storehouses I mentioned before, and was probably a principal street. If we suppose the city to have commenced at the port, and to have extended as far as the

ruins continue along the sides of the hills, it must have reached for twelve or fourteen miles! And this is not impossible, for it seems to have been very long and narrow. Pliny calls it "Lumen Asiæ," but St. John said that "its candlestick should be removed;" and it is so. While Smyrna yet remains a large place, the only substitute for this magnificent city is the little village of Aysilûk, in which reside about one hundred Turks, who cultivate part of the rich plain, and two Greeks, a gardener and a coffee-house keeper, who are all the Christian remains of this most splendid of the Seven Churches of Asia. After continuing the whole day among these very interesting remains, till we could see no longer, we returned on board by the way we came in our boats, bringing with us some curious but excellent fish from the weir in the river.

And here take a note on the subject of malaria. In addition to many verbal, written, and printed warnings which I have had on this subject, our friends at Smyrna charged us to be on our guard against the Plain of Ephesus, the marsh miasma of which, as all say, depopulated the city and country more than the sword or barbarous policy of man. Now, we not only continued on this Plain for two days, but we were compelled to remain a whole night on the very worst and most dangerous part of it, exposed to cold and damp, after heat and relaxation, without covering or refreshment of any kind, sinking in soft bog, and inhaling the dank and putrid exhalations of rank mud and decaying vegetables. Yet of eighteen persons so exposed not one felt any other effect from it than increase of health, appetite, and spirits! I leave it, however, to your better judgment to decide how far the extensive fires corrected the dangerous quality of the air, and the engagement of our minds the susceptibility of impressions on our bodies.

We sailed before it was light from the Bay of Ephesus, and after mid-day found ourselves coasting the southern shore of Scio. We were sufficiently close inland to see that the same devastation had been committed in every part of the island—houses black with smoke, walls torn down, and not a human being to be seen. In the evening we opened the passage between Ipsara and Scio, and hoped to land on the former. I had a great desire to visit this celebrated little island, and see how the Greeks conducted themselves in the full enjoyment of their independence. Unfortunately, however, the wind was too strong in the night, and in the morning we were to leeward. We therefore proceeded on to Tenedos, having passed close under this wonderful little rock, and seen in its harbour the pigmy ships which have struck such terror into the giants of Constantinople.

We landed at Tenedos, where we found our worthy consul and his family, who had been driven from the Dardanelles by the malaria of the situation. Of the island of Tenedos I have nothing to say, except that we did not see a fragment of any antiquity remaining on it. The Emperor Justinian had erected here large granaries, in which the corn brought from Egypt and the south was deposited, as the currents and north-east winds which prevail here ten months in the year often detained ships at the mouth of the Dardanelles so long, that their cargoes were spoiled on board; but even these useful and comparatively recent edifices the Turks have so destroyed, that not a trace even of their foundations is visible. The island is rocky, and well calculated for concealing the Grecian fleet behind it, though Virgil says truly it is "in conspectu Trojæ." The town of Tenedos consists of about one hundred and fifty houses, containing six hundred Turks, including the gar-

rison, and about three hundred Greeks, who suffered less in general than those of other places, of whom only twenty were killed and wounded by the Turks at the commencement of the troubles.

The wind had just changed to the south-west, and there was a whole fleet of merchantmen steering for the mouth of the Dardanelles, to avail themselves of it. We signalled one of them to bring to, in order that we might get on board and proceed home with the fair wind. She shortened sail, and we were conveyed on board. It was impossible to leave our kind and cordial friends in the Hinde without a sense of obligation and feelings of great good will. I was quite oppressed at the Captain's kindness, who gave me up his own bed and accommodations with an obstinacy of hospitality that it was in vain to combat. His kindness was equally cordial to all on board; he lived with his officers like their elder brother, and they seemed to feel for him a similar fraternal regard. The scenes we witnessed, and in such company, rendered this excursion one of the most interesting I had ever taken. The ship into which we changed was laden with wheat, damp, dirty, and slow; we left the elegant accommodations of the Hinde, which seemed almost capable of moving against wind and tide, for a heavy sheer-hulk, that it seemed almost impossible to move with both in her favour, so we requested to be put on shore, and proceeded by land along the north coast of the Sea of Marmora to Constantinople.

Our first care on our arrival was to notify the destitute state of the poor people shut up in the garden of our consul at Scio. An immediate subscription was entered into by our generous merchants, and a quantity of flour and bread was purchased for their use. These we sent by the Agenor, Captain Hann, who undertook to deliver them, with a letter

from me to Captain Rous, and he was again so kind as to interest himself about these poor people, and had our donation conveyed to them.

Our janissary, Achmet, exhibited on our return some odd traits of the sensual and unbelieving class to which he belongs. He was a fat, heavy fellow, whose only motion had been from his own house to the British palace, where he sat all day in the coffee-house at the gate in the luxury of repose, dozing between coffee and tobacco. From the exercise and excitement he had been under, he lost a great part of his corpulence, and he came back as active and as spare as a greyhound. He had weighed himself before he set out, and he found himself one hundred and fifty-four oke; he did the same on his return, and he found himself but one hundred. So he actually came back to us, and, though we had already paid him enormously, he demanded remuneration for the loss of fifty-four oke of flesh in our service. Some of his companions at the gate told him that he must expect to grow thin, travelling with two papas who did nothing but fast and pray. "No," said he, "in that respect they are honest men. I never saw either of them fast or pray all the time I was out with them." There is a large and increasing class among the Turks, who have little respect for their own creed; and have not adopted any other, and Achmet we found was one of them. His whole idea of religion was external form, and that he used to laugh at; and because he never saw us on our journey stop at certain hours of the day, spread our carpets on the plain, and pray with our faces turned to Mecca, he took it for granted that, like himself, we had no religion at all.

CHAPTER IV.

Halet Effendi—Chief Barber and Coffee-maker—Proceedings of Janissaries—Change of Ministry—Deposition and Death of Halet—Torture of Hazakiel, his Jew Banker—Execution of Asomachi, his Greek Spy—Amiable traits of the Grand Vizir, Delhi Abdalla—Supply of Water to the City—Aqueducts and Cisterns of the Lower Empire—Improvements of the Turks—Belgrade—Destruction of the Woods to dislodge the Robbers—Abortive attempt at improvement by Osmyn Aga—House of Lady M. W. Montague an object of great interest—No trace of it—Vaccination returned for Inoculation—Migratory Birds—Severity of Winter—Harbour frozen over—Eclipse of the Moon—Shock of an Earthquake—Turkish precautions against Fire—Causes of its frequency—Great Conflagration in March, 1823—Anecdotes of it—Extent of the injury.

On our return to the capital we found the Turks in a state of commotion, not from the usual causes, but from one by which their gravity is seldom disturbed—a change of ministry. The man who had hitherto directed every movement of the Turkish Cabinet was Halet Effendi. He had been ambassador at the court of France, and was one of the very few Turks who could speak an European language. His mind, besides, was imbued with some portion of European intelligence, and he could entertain the Sultan with knowledge which he had acquired in foreign countries, and which the Sultan was curious to hear. He was also a man of considerable shrewdness and tact, who could avail himself of everything to promote his personal interests. He occupied no office but that of Nizamgee, or Man of the Signature. There is a convoluted cypher which designates the name and titles of the Sultan, contained in a single complicated figure, which is seen on the coins of the empire, and

on all the public edifices. The duty of the Nizamgee is to affix this to all public papers; it is a mere nominal place, of no trust or patronage, but under its name he had exercised a despotic control over all the measures of government, without office or responsibility—dictated, generally, all public measures of the Sultan, and was particularly odious to the janissaries, who were determined no one should dictate to him but themselves. I had often met and conversed with him in French; he was near-sighted, and used an eye-glass, and had assumed the manners and usages of a Frank in Turkish dress. He had, besides, built a library, and furnished it with books, and so wished to introduce a taste for literature. All these things were additional grounds of offence to the janissaries, who looked upon him as an innovator and promoter of improvements, against which they had declared uncompromising hostility. Associated with Halet were two very important and influential persons. One was the chief barber, and the other the chief coffee-maker, who had both apartments in the Seraglio. The former was greatly in the confidence of Mahmood, who, in this respect, resembled Louis XI. of France. Barbers and coffee-makers in Constantinople are generally influential persons. Their shops are the great and daily resort of people, and the medium through which news is circulated. When the barber, therefore, attended the Sultan, he was every morning enabled to give him the news of the capital, and was, in fact, the only gazette the monarch had to consult. As the creature of Halet, his information was always in accordance with the views of the favourite, and so his influence was strengthened.

The time was come, however, when his power was to terminate. The janissaries, notwithstanding the severe punishment inflicted on some of their refractory body, still rallied,

and began again to hold seditious meetings; and at length commissioned a dervish to represent to Halet Effendi that some grievances they complained of must be redressed, and hinted to him the necessity of his retiring, and leaving the Sultan to his own free agency. The dervish never returned with Halet's answer. When the janissaries inquired after him, they were informed he had gone into Persia, where the convent to which he belonged was situated; but he never again appeared either there or elsewhere.

The janissaries were very indignant, and they drew up a memorial, which was presented to the Sultan when going to the mosque, on Friday, 1st of November, and as Mahmoud never failed to read such things, an immediate answer to it was expected. A whole week, however, passed, and no notice was taken of it; and it was found that the influence of Halet had arrested it in its progress, and it never reached the eye of his master, but was afterwards discovered in his own bureau.

The janissaries were now determined that the Sultan should be distinctly acquainted with their sentiments and discontent; so they commissioned their Aga to represent them in person. It is his duty to hold the stirrup when he mounts or alights from his horse on entering the mosque, so the Aga took that opportunity, on the following Friday, to whisper into his ear some strong and energetic representations. The Sultan was alarmed, and he determined to be satisfied of the state of the public mind, by going himself in person to examine into it. On the evening following, therefore, he put on his disguise, and visited many of the barbers' shops and coffee-houses in Constantinople; and there he learned that the reports made to him by Halet's creatures were altogether untrue—that the spirit of discontent was general and menacing, and that it must be

attended to. He inquired after the intercepted petition, and found it contained a demand for the dismissal of seven of his ministers. The next morning, the 10th of November, it was announced that four of them, the Grand Vizir, the Nizamgee, the Tophana Nazir, or Director of the Cannon Foundry, and the Mufti, were dismissed, and it was expected that the other three would follow.

The delinquents, with the barber and coffee-maker, were banished to Asia Minor; but the lingering affection of the Sultan for Halet induced him to give him a firman for the assurance of his personal safety, and a promise that, when times were more propitious, he should return to his former favour and influence. Notwithstanding this, it was announced one morning that his head, with three of the rest, was exhibited in the court of the Seraglio; but as I had already witnessed that of Ali Pasha, I was not disposed again to view the spectacle, but I procured some of the satiric songs that were made, and sung in coffee-houses, on this unpopular favourite, whose fate resembled that of Sejanus.

As all the officers of the Seraglio were originally slaves, and therefore incapable of possessing property themselves, it grew into a usage that whatever they acquired after their elevation was as much their masters' as it was before, and hence all the effects of a deposed or executed minister fall to the Sultan as of right, and not to the family of the deceased. On this principle, those of Halet, as usual, were confiscated, and his unfortunate saraf, or banker, Hazakiel, was seized on, to make him refund them. He probably assigned all he had in deposit, but he was a Jew, known to be of a doubtful character; so on the assumption that he had concealed some of it, he was put to very cruel torture in the oven of the Bostangee Bashi, till the wretched man disgorged the

whole of his own property, as well as that of Halet, of which the Sultan took possession.

Among others who shared the fate of their patron was Asomachi, a Greek. It was known that the Greeks had secret information conveyed to them from the capital, and this man was suspected as the agent, and on his arrest he, to save himself, made such discoveries as caused the death of many of his countrymen. He had insinuated himself into the favour of Halet, by betraying all who confided in him, and had been his subtle instrument in bringing about the ruin and death, not only of the Greeks but of the Turks, who were Halet's enemies. On Halet's exile, he was thrown into the prison of the Bostangee Bashi, but was treated with some show of regard, as he frequently dined with the Bashi, whom also he endeavoured to conciliate, by betraying every thing intrusted to him by his former patron; and when he was executed, he thought himself secure of impunity. As soon, however, as he had divulged all he knew, and could tell no more, he was informed he must die. He then broke out into the most bitter complaints; that the Sultan was indebted to him for his throne, for if it was not for the secrets he had betrayed, a revolution would have been effected at Constantinople. A chouash, however, who stood behind him, attached a bowstring to his neck, and he was strangled in the act of uttering his complaints. He was a man as notorious as his patron, and perished a miserable victim of tyranny and treachery, detested by those he had destroyed, and unpitied by those he had saved.

The Mufti was succeeded by Sidké Sadi, one of the body of the Ulema, who had sat as president in all the conferences with the foreign ministers. The new Vizir was Delhi Abdalla Pasha, to whom, as well as to his predecessor, now deposed, I introduced you at our audience. Delhi Ab-

dalla was then Capitan Pasha, but possessing no more knowledge of naval affairs than he had acquired as boatman on the Bosphorus, he was appointed Anadoli Pasha, or Asiatic Guardian of the Bosphorus, from Scutari to the Black Sea, and in an evil hour Kara Ali was sent first to Galaxidi and then to Scio in his place. Had he gone to the latter, the sad catastrophe would not have happened, as he was a man of rough manners, but great goodnature. His first act as Grand Vizir was indicative of his disposition. The family of an unfortunate Greek, whom I knew something of, terrified at a rumour of new massacres, had attempted to escape from Constantinople, but were discovered, arrested, and were about to be cast into the horrible prison of the Bostangee Bashi, to undergo some of its inflictions. The Delhi heard of it, and ordered them to be first brought before himself. "I am told," said he, in his usual familiar and eccentric way, "that you had left Constantinople to go to a better place, and I have sent for you to let me know where that is, and I will go along with you." Not being able to inform him, he bade them go back quietly to their shops, and dismissed them. The poor people knew that their shops were now occupied by others, and supposing that they were sent in this manner merely to be executed in the streets like others, as they went along, proceeded in a very melancholy mood, expecting at every step their heads would roll before them. They were agreeably surprised, however, to find that they were suffered to proceed alive to their former shops, which they found the Vizir had re-purchased for them, re-stocked with every article they sold, and that he had left, besides, a sum of money to carry on their business. These and sundry other similar acts of kindness to unfortunate persons who were guilty of some violation of the law, contrasted with the ruthless persecution with which even

the innocent had been pursued, rendered this rude but good-natured boatman highly esteemed as a Grand Vizir.

He did not, however, long enjoy his elevation. Finding himself ill at ease in his high rank, or inadequate to its duties, he was deposed by the Sultan at his own request, and greatly to the regret of the Greeks. His deposition was attended with a frequent display of Turkish credulity and superstition. The astrologers had predicted that some important change would take place in the empire on a particular day. The Sultan, therefore, fixed upon it to announce the deposition of the Delhi, and this to obviate the effects on the minds of the people by exhibiting the accomplishment of the prediction in the person of his Grand Vizir. Unlike his predecessors, the genuine worth of this man procured him safety and protection. His death did not follow as the certain consequence of his deposition, as usually happens. He retired to Asia on a pension of two thousand piastres a month, which he spent in acts of kindness to all about him.

As I had taken the palace garden under my care, I was responsible for its well-doing. A part of it I wished to plant out with trees and shrubs; and as the woods of the Black Sea abounded, I was informed, with a great variety, and the country was now in a state of comparative tranquillity, I took the palace gardener with me, and proceeded to Belgrade, in the centre of the woods.

Among the objects of curiosity that led me to this place were the reservoirs of water, by which the ancient and modern city was and is supplied. The only fresh water near the city was found in the small and muddy streams of the Cydaris and Barbyses falling into the head of the harbour, and forming there what the ancients called the Marcidum Mare, or Putrid Sea, and called for that reason, I suppose, by the French, *Les Eaux Douces,* and by the English, after them,

"The Sweet Waters," and as they flowed at such a distance below the elevation of the town that it was impossible to conduct them to the city above by any knowledge of hydrostatics the Greeks then possessed, they were obliged to seek another source, and they found it among the mountains of the Euxine. It was the region of constant showers and perennial streams, which they conducted to the capital. Wherever the rills poured down and became confluent in a little valley, they were there arrested, by throwing a mound across; and in this way they accumulated, till they formed various triangular lakes at an elevation above the level of the city, to which they were conveyed by pipes and aqueducts, wherever a valley interposed. Two of the aqueducts still remain, ten or twelve miles from the capital, one attributed to Constantine, and the other to the indefatigable Justinian. The first has three tiers of arches, and is about three hundred and twenty in length. The second is more magnificent; the arches form but two tiers, but they stretch for seven hundred and fifty feet, and ascend to the height of one hundred and ten: a gallery runs through it, and forms a passage across the valley, over which it carries the water.

The water when conveyed to the city was distributed by another system of pipes and aqueducts to different reservoirs among the hills. Of the city aqueducts, three are noticed by historians, one erected by Adrian for the benefit of the Byzantines, of which no trace is now to be seen. A second by Theodosius, which is described as an incredible work, which brought a river underground and through the air*—of this also all traces are lost. The third, erected by Valens, is most celebrated by writers. A curious anecdote is related of its erection. The Emperor,

* Ἀπίστον ἔργον ὁ ὑπερχθόνιος καὶ ἄπιστος ποταμός.—Greg. Nazian. p. 435.

incensed at the conduct of the inhabitants of Chalcedon, who had favoured the party of Procopius, ordered their walls to be pulled down. Among the stones was found one with an oracular inscription, implying, that the walls of Chalcedon should bring a great supply of water to the city. Prophecies were powerful incentives in those days, so, to accomplish the prediction, Valens erected his aqueduct with the prophetic stones. This is described by all writers as very magnificent. It was held of such importance and in such respect by the Turks, that the reparation of it was one of the three prayers which the Sultan Solyman hoped to accomplish before his death. This aqueduct is the only one that remains at this day, and it attests the accuracy of historians who describe it. It extends across the valley, from the Mosque of Sultan Mahomed to that of Schasabba, and forms the most conspicuous object in Constantinople. It consists of three ranges of arches, one above the other, and accords exactly with the description of Douza and others*, in conveying an aërial river far above the tops of the houses. The streets in some places lead through it, and in others along the side of it, and from different parts pipes descend, conveying water to all the neighbourhood. Vines and other plants have established themselves in the interstices, and the roots imbibing the humidity which oozes out in different places, hang down in rich festoons, adorning this venerable structure with their vegetable drapery.

The water conveyed by these aqueducts of the Lower Empire was received in various excavations, so that the hills of the city abounded in reservoirs, like those of the Black Sea. Some of these reservoirs were open to the air, and some covered in. Of the first, six are yet remaining, many of which I explored. They are quadrangular enclosures of solid

* Niceph. lib. ii. c. 4. Leunclav. in Pand. Turc. Douza, p. 40.

walls of masonry, varying in size, and some of them eight hundred feet in length: their extensive area induced travellers to believe they were originally intended for Naumachia; but as no such places are mentioned by the Byzantine historians in this Nova Roma, though those of Roma antiqua are particularly described by its historians, it makes such a conjecture highly improbable: besides, the harbour, as it is justly observed, with the grounds rising about it like an amphitheatre, would have formed a much more magnificent place for such an exhibition than any artificial one that could have been fabricated. As the aqueduct was raised by a prediction,* these open cisterns were destroyed by one. A philosopher, says Cedrenus, assured the Emperor Heraclius that the water would fail if they continued as cisterns, so he ordered them to be filled up, and planted with trees. They are described by Chrysoloras and others as being thus treated, and so they remain at this day. They are places which produce fruits and vegetables in abundance. The deposits of the water had left a substratum of very rich mould, which is still highly fertile, and which the Turks cultivate. They call them Tchokour Bostan, or the Sunk Gardens.

Of the covered reservoirs described by historians two remain at this day: both of them are subterraneous. One was called the Stranger's Friend, because it stood near some inns, which, as well as the public, it supplied with water*. It is now to be found behind the Atmeidan, under an open space, like a field covered with grass. On walking across this place I heard the sound as of rushing waters, and supposed it arose from the gushing of some current filling a reservoir. About the centre of the open space was a small aperture, and on looking down I saw no water, but a vast cavern

* Χινοδοχεῖα τινα ὅπου ἡ φιλοξενος ἐχορηγει το ὕδωρ.—Cedrenus.

below, supported on extensive ranges of pillars, and the bottom covered with a busy crowd of people. It was a silk manufactory, and the sound of water I had heard was the wheels of the machinery and buzzing voices of the manufacturers.

The ranges of pillars extended to an apparently interminable space, till they were lost in the distant twilight. We descended and walked through them. Every single pillar seemed as if formed of two, one standing on the other, and each having its own capital. We were informed that another range of columns stood below, on which these two visible ones rested, and indeed the ground seemed evidently artificial, and it was probable that the order of Heraclius to fill up the open cisterns had extended to this also. Near the centre is a well, fifteen feet deep, which is supposed to descend to the original bottom, where the water still accumulates. The whole excavation forms an irregular quadrangle of one hundred and ninety by one hundred and sixty feet. The roof is of arches of brick, supported on the colonnade. We calculated that the number of pillars now standing amounted to two hundred and twelve, and if each was to be reckoned as three, the whole would amount to six hundred and thirty-six, and might justify the name by which the Turks call it at present—Bin Bir Direk, which literally means the Thousand and One Pillars; but the Orientals apply it as a definite number to express an indefinite one, as they call the numerous Arabian tales the Thousand and One Nights. The pillars are covered over with curious monograms, deeply cut, and very distinct—ΥΝ — ΠϽ — ΦΙ — ЄΥΓ — KYNO. The whole would contain, according to Andreossi's calculation, 1,237,939 cubic feet of water, which would have supplied the inhabitants for sixty days, a most important circumstance in the latter ages of the Lower Em-

pire, when they were surrounded with barbarians almost up to the walls of their city, who could at once cut off their supply from the hills. Its present appropriation, however, has advantages. The thermometer in the open air above stood at 81°; below, the air was cool and grateful to the workmen. When we ascended again, the atmosphere felt like the steam of a heated oven against our faces.

The next is the great cistern of the Βασιλικη, which supplied water to the palace and all the district about. This was so particularly described by Gillius as existing in his day, that all travellers who had read his book were anxious to see it. It had now disappeared for two centuries, and neither Chevalier nor Clark could discover it. I had made frequent inquiries, but could learn no trace of it. I was one day returning down the street leading from the Seraglio Gate, when I met a sacgee, with his leathern vessel of water on his back, resting himself against a post. It occurred to me, and I know not particularly why, that a water-carrier must be the best authority for the existence of a cistern; and I told the janissary to ask him if he knew of any reservoir in that neighbourhood. He immediately said I must be inquiring after the Yere Batan Serai, or Palace Underground: so I thought, whatever that was, it must be something curious, and the sacgee led us to a house in an adjoining street. The family were at the mosque, but with some difficulty and a few piastres, a Greek slave who was at home admitted us, and led us through a yard to an aperture under the foundation of the house, and here I was really astonished to see a subterranean lake of immense extent, stretching away before me, and a grove of marble pillars everywhere rising out of the water, and supporting the streets above. It was exactly in the state that Gillius had described, having three hundred and thirty-six

83378

marble pillars, of various orders of architecture, forming a magnificent colonnade, and a small caique, or raft, bound to one of them, in which the master used to sail and fish in the lake. Another circumstance identified it with that of Gillius, and accounted for the difficulty of finding it, that the people whose houses were built over it knew nothing about it, nor would the proprietor of this house, but for an accidental breach in the wall of the cistern, through which part of his yard had fallen in. The great cistern of Valens still continues to pour water into it, which is drawn off by various tubes left since the time of the Lower Empire, and never repaired by the Turks. Indeed, from the state of ruin into which it was apparently falling, it seemed totally neglected, or altogether unknown.

As water is a religious, as well as a natural, want to a Turk, and he requires it for ablution as well as for drinking, he is still more anxious to preserve it than the Greeks; and though the mode of distributing it in the city adopted by the latter is not adhered to, their mode of conveying it thither has been carefully observed and improved upon. The Greek Υδραλη is now called a *bendt*, and the number of them is greatly increased. Several have been formed by individuals, and retain their names. One of them is called the Valadi Bendt, because it was formed by the Sultana Valadi, the mother of the present Sultan. The front is an erection of abutments of solid masonry, built in rustic, surmounted by a balustrade, and ornamented with Turkish sculpture, among which is a marble tablet, with a Turkish inscription, intimating that it was erected in the year of the Hegira corresponding with our 1786. The walk along the summit is fine; it is a marble terrace, of near five hundred feet in length, flanked by balustrades. As you look over the balustrades, you see at one side a large triangular lake, rising to the

level of your feet, and extending between the hills till it terminates in a point up the valley. On the other side you see a perpendicular descent of one hundred and thirty feet into a dark ravine, along the sides of which the water is discharged in pipes to its destination. Several new aqueducts are also erected. One, bearing the name Solyman, is of vast size, consisting of two ranges of fifty arches, extending across a valley of sixteen hundred feet. But the most noble and conspicuous is that which is thrown across the valley of Buyukderé, and terminating the vista of that valley from the Bosphorus with its white arches. They are both part of that combination of levels which conveys the water of the bendts to the city, the former along the western bank of the Cydaris, through the Egri Kapoosi Gate, into Constantinople; the latter along the ridge over the Bosphorus, by the great burying-ground into the peninsula of Pera.

But the Turks have improved and simplified the old system of aqueducts by a very ingenious contrivance. The first objects that struck my notice were long ranges of rude pyramidal columns, quite detached from each other and from everything else. I supposed they were large monuments, and looked up for some inscription, when suddenly a gush of water issued from the top, and was projected as if from the pipe of a water-engine. I found that these were hydraulic pillars, called Sooteraisoo, and were constructed in the following manner. At one side ascended a number of pipes conveying water, which was received into a square basin on the summit: this was divided by a partition perforated near the top, through which the water ran into the other compartment, leaving any impurities behind it in the first: from this it descended on the other side of the pillar by another set of pipes, which conveyed it to the next sooteraisoo, whose summit was a few inches lower than that

of the former. In this manner the water is carried down an inclined plane, formed by the tops of these columns, and depositing its impurities in each of the reservoirs, till it enters the city. The force with which the fluid ascends is so great, that sometimes it forms a *jet d'eau* from the top, falling in a shower all round for several yards. The practice has been found to answer so well, that it has been applied to the aqueduct of Valens in Constantinople, where I was surprised to find the abutments of the arches converted into sooteraisoos. You are surprised as I was to find so ingenious a device among the Turks—it is not their invention, but that of the scientific Arabians.

Besides these conveyances above ground, the soil below is pierced by pits two or three hundred feet apart. These were excavated to facilitate the construction of tunnels through the hills to form water-courses.

These pits, with various remains of tile tubes protruding from the ground in every direction in the lonely hills about the city, indicate the extensive and continued care taken at all times to supply this necessary element. From the spine

of the ridge of high ground various courses branch off to the villages of the Bosphorus below, which are thus as well supplied with water as the capital; and at every convenient place is a fountain, generally faced with a marble slab, containing an inscription, acknowledging the bounty of Allah, and his providence, and frequently inviting the passenger who participates in the refreshment to participate also in gratefully acknowledging it. This fluid, so important to themselves, the Turks are anxious to extend to every living being; bowls of water are placed for their dogs, and even cavities are formed on tombs as reservoirs for birds, that every animal may participate in an element which they themselves so highly prize.

To watch over its proper distribution, a numerous body of men are incorporated. The chief is called the Sou Nazir, or Water Inspector. Whenever a rupture or other impediment occurs to interfere with the due and regular distribution of the water, he is empowered to compel every one in the vicinity to assist in repairing a common injury, in which all are equally concerned, and he is responsible with his life that no interruption takes place in the daily current; even the Sultans are expected to make an annual inspection of their limits and state of repair. Besides these corps, there is the Sou Jolgee, or Engineers, who periodically examine and calculate the water in the bendts. Before I went to Belgrade, the weather had been remarkably dry, so that, with the exception of a few passing showers, it had not rained from the 4th of April to the 2d of November. The sou jolgee came out while I was there, and I accompanied them to the bendts. They measured the water, and found no more in the reservoirs than was sufficient to supply the city for fifteen days, at the usual consumption, and even that was becoming turbid and muddy. Prayers were offered

up in all the mosques, and dervishes were placed on all the hills to discover the approach of the expected rain. One of them I saw on the Jouchi Daghi, watching the Black Sea, and when he saw a black cloud rising from it which indicated rain, he gave immediate notice of it, and it was hailed by the people as a providential deliverance.

The water is distributed through the houses of the city by a numerous body of men, called sacgees. They carry on their backs leathern vessels, broad at the bottom and narrowing to the top, like our churns, and closed at the mouth by a flap of leather. When this is filled at a fountain, it is slung across the sacgee's back, the broad end resting on his hip, and the narrow appearing over the opposite shoulder. When he empties it, he opens the flap, stoops, and the water falls into the vessel appointed to receive it. In every hall there are usually two small circular reservoirs sunk in the ground, and covered with stoppers, which are kept filled every day by the sacgees. These men are generally robust and vigorous, and they made a formidable part of the marauding expedition to Scio. I was told of some who brought back their leathern sacks stained with blood, and stuffed with plunder.

Belgrade, or rather Biel Gorod, is a Sclavonian word, and signifies the White Town, or Fortress: it is situated in the debouches of many of the valleys of the Low Balcan, which run southerly along the shores of the Black Sea. The present village is built near one extremity of the Υδραλη Μεγαλη, or Great Reservoir, formed by the Greeks of the Lower Empire, where the water was collected from the various rills which wind through the sinuosities of the valleys, till they meet in a considerable stream between two hills. These are part of the chain of the Low Balcan, which is here crowned with magnificent forests of

oak, chestnut, and other large trees. When I passed through them they exhibited a melancholy picture of devastation. After the discontented janissaries, and the rabble who united with them, were suppressed by the severe executions I have mentioned, a number of them escaped from the city. Some passed over to Scutari, and attempted to seize on the large barracks there, but were driven out with two pieces of cannon. They then dispersed; some retreated to the woods about Moudania, and some recrossed the Bosphorus, and, joined by others, established themselves in the woods about Belgrade, where they formed banditti in parties of eight or ten, issuing from the forests, plundering and murdering every traveller they met on the roads, and again retiring to the inaccessible recesses, where they could not be effectually pursued. After committing great depredations with impunity, and baffling the pursuit of every detachment sent against them, the government were obliged to have recourse to an expedient they were very reluctant to practise. The woods were not only the sources of water but of fire to the inhabitants of the city; they not only supplied the rills which filled the bendts, but the fuel used by the people, which was here cut and transported on rafts down the Bosphorus. But the depredations of these outlaws became so alarming, that no expedient was left but to burn them out of their fastnesses. Accordingly, the woods were set on fire by the Pasha, and the blaze illumined the Euxine. The robbers were dislodged, and numbers of them shot by various parties who watched them as they issued from among the blazing forests, and tranquillity and security were again restored to the roads; but the beauty of the magnificent scenery was entirely destroyed. About Belgrade the fire extended for several miles square, denuding the hills and scorching the fair face of nature. The largest and most magnificent forest-

trees were burnt to the heart near the base; these becoming top heavy, fell over with a crash, and lay half consumed, encumbering the ground, and obstructing the roads in all directions. The noble trees thus destroyed were generally chestnut, beech, oak, walnut, lime, and platanus, of a size and beauty unknown in England. In clambering through them, we discovered the decaying bodies of men and wild animals, particularly wild boars and bucks, with which these woods abound. They had either been overtaken by the fire or killed in attempting to escape from it; and thus the deepest recesses of the woods, as well as the crowded streets of the cities in this devoted country were filled with devastation and the destruction of life.

Indeed, the hostility which seems to be declared against everything that can improve or ameliorate the condition of human life is everywhere displayed. The country between Constantinople and Belgrade is susceptible of the highest cultivation, wherever the woods do not extend; but it is not only waste, but the remnants of cultivation show that it has been once attempted, and abandoned as a thing utterly impracticable. Osmyn Aga, a director of the customs, was one of those precocious Turks who seemed to have anticipated his countrymen by a century in intelligence and a disposition to improve. He obtained a large chiflik, or grant of land here, and commenced agricultural experiments on a respectable scale. The face of the country was beginning to assume the aspect of that of a civilized people, and there was a distant hope that the example would extend, and the beautiful vicinity of Constantinople assume something of that character of cultivated nature which marks every Christian capital in Europe. In several places were seen insulated farms, surrounded by hedge-rows of trees, and displaying the richest verdure, like oases in the midst

of a desert; in others the ground was already turned up and prepared for crops. He had besides built a large house in the midst of the solitude, in which he hoped to pass the last years of his life with his family, surrounded by his improvements. The year before, however, he was arrested and exiled into Asia, and his property confiscated. The only crime I ever heard attributed to him was, that he seemed growing too rich, and his improvements, imperfect as they were, held out an incentive to the cupidity of the government. His houses, as I passed, were neglected and already falling to decay; the numerous tenantry he was beginning to establish about him had abandoned his farms, and no one had enterprise or intelligence to retake them, and the whole was fast approaching to that state of waste and solitude from which he was beginning to reclaim it. In a ride of twelve miles from the capital, it was the only thing I met like an attempt at farming or agricultural improvements, with the exception of a few gardens.

The situation of the village of Belgrade is very beautiful. The valley in which it stands is a level plain, covered with a fine verdant sward, and flanked by romantic wooded eminences, studded with beech trees, which had escaped the conflagration. Through the middle a pure stream winds its way, and after a course of two or three miles, empties itself into the artificial lake formed for a reservoir. In the year 1718 it was the favourite residence of the European ambassadors; and Lady Mary Wortley Montague dates some of her lively letters from it*. No trace, however, of her description is to be found in the present aspect of the place. She describes it as commanding a view of the sea, and as the residence of all the opulent Franks, who met every evening at a fountain, and in the midst of fruit trees.

* One of them to Pope.

It is now abandoned by every family of opulence, with the exception of one British merchant, in whose house I took up my residence. I searched in vain for a glimpse of the sea—the fountain has disappeared—and there is not a fruit-tree to be seen, except a vine in a vineyard. It was in vain to inquire for the house in which her Ladyship resided, as no trace of it was left in 1794, when Dallaway was chaplain at Constantinople, and the very tradition of it is now lost. It ought, however, to have been preserved, for it was here she inoculated her son, and so it was the spot from which the greatest and most valuable improvement in medical knowledge was conferred upon Europe, by disarming the most foul and loathsome disease that ever afflicted the human race of all its virulence.

The recollection of this circumstance had greatly interested me, and I felt a strong desire to imitate it. Having practised vaccination to a considerable extent before I left home, I felt a conviction of its efficacy, from the personal experience of many years. I was anxious to spread it abroad wherever I found it was not in use, and I heard it was not known in this village. I had just before obtained some matter from England, and succeeded with it in inoculating a child of Lady Strangford's. With that kindness and desire to do good which marked her character, her Ladyship suggested to me to take the infection from the arm of her child, and communicate it to some other, and so introduce and extend the practice. I did so in this place, and subsequently in others; and I have the pleasure to think that, if the Lady of one British Ambassador introduced inoculation to the people of the West, through the medium of her child, the wife of another, a century after, returned the benefit, by introducing a still further improvement through her child to the people of the East, in places where it was not known or practised before.

Among the objects of natural history which engaged my attention here were the flights of migratory birds, which at this season of the year darken the air, from the Black Sea across the woods. They frequently lighted on the summits of the highest trees, where Greek boys climbed up, and attaching various snares, continually brought down numbers. I was particularly attracted by one of them. It was a cross-bill *, about the size of a large thrush. The colour of the male was red, inclining to brown, and of the female green, but the formation of the bill was singular: both mandibles were curved in the opposite direction, and crossed. It was difficult to conceive what nature meant by this apparently awkward and unmanageable construction. I soon, however, saw that she had done nothing in vain. I domesticated one of these birds, and it became as familiar as a parrot, sat on my shoulder while I wrote, and whistled to me for food. I discovered that it particularly frequented Turkish cemeteries, and was most commonly met with among the cypress trees. I collected, therefore, some of the cypress cones, and whenever he whistled I presented him with one. He took it with great dexterity in one of his claws, and holding it up, he hopped to his perch on the other leg. He then split open with his cross-beak the tough divisions of the cone with a force, and got out the seeds with a dispatch that mandibles of any other construction could never accomplish. I kept this familiar and interesting bird for several months, till a rapacious kite, hovering over the palace garden, made a stoop, and destroyed it. I called it Νερουπολι, its modern Greek name, and it answered to the sound by a whistle.

The Turks, I found, had prohibited, under the severest penalties, any one in this neighbourhood to dig up trees or

* Loxia curvirostra.

sink pits, by which the water might escape or ooze out, or plant gardens, by which it might be exhausted. I was obliged therefore to procure an express firman for the first purpose, and with an injunction that I should not approach the bendts. I used my permission with due discretion, and after dispatching several loads of young trees to Pera, I was compelled to follow them by the severity of the weather.

Before my departure I made some excursions with an agreeable companion. Lord Strangford had proceeded to the Congress of Vienna, and it generally fell to my lot to accompany any gentleman who brought letters to the palace in his absence, and show them sight-worthy objects. Among others, Major Craddock, then Aide-de-Camp to the Duke of Wellington, came at this time, and we made many agreeable excursions together. I revisited with him the Cyanean Rocks, the Basaltic Pillars at the mouth of the Black Sea, and other places, and parted with regret from an intelligent and agreeable companion.

The year 1833 commenced at Constantinople with an inclemency unknown to the oldest person, and unrecorded in modern times. It began snowing on the Greek Christmas Day, the 6th of January, and the flakes continued to fall in dense masses, driven violently along by gales of wind from the north, from Monday till Thursday, for eighty-five hours, without the smallest intermission. The sky then cleared, the thermometer fell to 28° Fahr., and a hard frost succeeded. To the astonishment of the Turks, the harbour was no longer to be crossed; their caiques were arrested in the middle of the passage by masses of floating ice, and on the 12th of January the Golden Horn was entirely frozen over by one solid flag from the Sweet Waters to the Seraglio Point. Near the Arsenal, a canal was cut, through which a few boats passed from side to side, but at

the Meit Iskelli, and other places, its hardness exceeded all their skill, and caiques remained arrested on their way with their passengers in a most helpless state, unable to get on in their boats, and afraid to trust to the ice out of them. Opposite the Fanal it exceeded two inches in thickness, and several Greeks, more light and enterprising than their heavy masters, walked across and returned with perfect confidence. The gulls and cormorants which crowd the harbour seemed now reduced to a state of torpidity. They stood motionless on this part of the ice in great masses, and those who passed over on it were obliged to kick them out of their way. In the great frost which happened in Russia in 1812, no ice had appeared on this harbour. The only instance of anything similar to the present occurred in 1794, when a partial sheet formed near the Seraglio. On this a fanatic dervish proposed to walk, to establish his reputation for sanctity by a miracle, before a crowd of people, but his infirm footing soon separated, and he was drowned in the sight of his congregation.

Like the dervish, I had the strongest inclination to trust to the ice, but not exactly from the same motives, or in the same manner—I wished to do a thing which, as far as I could learn, was never done before—to *skate* across the harbour of Constantinople: so I proceeded to a blacksmith in the neighbourhood of the Palace, and gave him directions to make me a pair of skates. A Turkish artist is not very expeditious in forming an implement he has seen and of which he knows the use; but he makes slow progress, indeed, when he has neither of these advantages; so you will not be surprised to hear that the ice was passed before the skates were finished, and I lost the opportunity of immortalizing myself. Swimming across the Hellespont would have been a common occurrence, compared with skating across the Golden Horn.

The severity of this frost extended all along the shores of the Euxine, and the harbour of Odessa was frozen to a considerable distance from the shore, and ships unloaded their cargoes, and sent them across the ice for two miles. The sheet of ice reached as far down as the island of Serpentaria, and blocked up the mouths of the Danube. This was a very rare occurrence, but sometimes happened in ancient as well as modern times. When Ovid was exiled to Tomi in this neighbourhood, he complained of it among the calamities of his unhappy state—

Vidimus ingentem glacie consistere pontum *.

The end of the month was distinguished by a phenomenon which marked, more, perhaps, than any other circumstance, the exceeding and enduring ignorance of this European people. The English almanacs had announced an eclipse of the moon for the 26th January, and calculating the difference of time between the longitudes, we found the moon would rise eclipsed, and we expected, as we had heard, that the Turks would endeavour to disperse the darkness with drums and trumpets. The moon rose obscured by dense clouds, and I was greatly disappointed. In some time, however, they dispersed, and she appeared curtailed of her fair proportions, three-fourths of her disk covered with a dismal veil. A shout ascended from the part of the town below the Palace, in the district called Casim Pasha, and it continued accompanied with drums and other noises till the moon emerged from the jaws of the monster which they supposed had endeavoured to swallow it.

On the following month the shock of an earthquake reminded us of those convulsions which had formerly devastated the city, and obliterated many of its edifices. About twelve o'clock on Monday, the 24th of February, a smart shock was noticed at Pera. It was distinctly felt in the

* El., lib. iii. p. 10.

upper rooms of the British Palace, and in the Prussian Palace the bells were all set ringing. It is one of those awful things that use does not quite familiarize us to, and our recent experience at Zante did not much dispose us to like a repetition of it. It, however, passed off without injury, and was not repeated.

To the other calamities which afflict this devoted town was now added that of fire. The idea you annex to this is, that of one, or perhaps two houses burnt, leaving an unsightly building with broken windows and charred wood, and a paragraph in the newspapers of a particular insurance office called on for a few thousand pounds damage. But a fire here is a different thing—the destruction is not of houses but of streets, and the injury is not exhausted on windows and roofs only, but the edifices are laid prostrate, and the whole district becomes an open space, unbroken sometimes by even the ruins of a wall. Such an event has just now occurred.

The Turks take great precautions against fire in public, but are altogether as negligent in their own houses. The first night I slept in Pera I was awoke by an extraordinary noise. It was that of something struck violently against the stones, which, in the stillness of the night, and against the large coarse blocks loosely laid for pavement, emitted a very loud sound. This was accompanied by a dismal cry uttered in a measured cadence, and repeated at every stroke. On getting up and looking out to see what it proceeded from, I perceived a Turk wrapped up like one of our watchmen, with a lantern in one hand and a long pole shod with iron in the other, which he struck against the pavement, and at every stroke stopped to utter his cry. This person was a Passavan, and one of a numerous body who walk the streets for the sole purpose of watching for a fire. Whenever one is seen, the low cry is raised into a

shout of Yanganvar, "There is a fire"—and the whole neighbourhood is alarmed. As you walk the streets by day you see their poles piled, like soldiers' muskets, in different places; a considerable depôt was near our palace gate.

Besides this, there is a large tower at Galata, and another called the Janissaries' Tower at Constantinople, which are for the same precautionary purpose. You see them rising to a considerable height above all the other edifices, and commanding a complete and extensive view over the whole of the two peninsulas. Instead of a bell, a very large drum is kept at the summit, and guards are ever on the watch beside it. Whenever a fire is seen, the drum is struck with a large mallet-like wand, as a bell is tolled, and the sound comes with a peculiar and solemn tone upon the ear.

In addition to these precautions to discover a fire, there is a corps of firemen, the most vigorous and intrepid perhaps in the world, to extinguish it. These are called Trombadgees; their sole dress consists of trowsers and a jacket without sleeves, leaving their arms, neck, and breast bare, exhibiting an extraordinary degree of muscular strength. On their heads they wear metal caps, like inverted copper basins, and their whole aspect is something very striking and extraordinary. Their daring corresponds with their strength. They are frequently seen in the midst of flames, directing one pipe against the burning house, while their companions below direct another against them, and keep them from being burnt or suffocated only by playing upon them a continued and copious torrent of water. Whenever they exert themselves their interference is most efficient, and no house is burnt which they engage to preserve. Notwithstanding this, the ravages of fire at Constantinople, both in extent, frequency, and destruction, is frightful, and surpasses all you have read or imagined on the subject.

The houses are almost all built of wood, some entirely, others a wooden edifice raised on a stone foundation. The building with any other material is, to a certain extent, prohibited, as it would reduce the consumption of timber, and so deprive the government of the revenue derived from the duty on it. Every fire is a gain to the state. During several months in the year the wood is dried by an arid atmosphere, and rendered highly inflammable. At this season, too, strong gusty winds prevail, so that a small blaze is soon fanned into an extensive conflagration. The interior of the houses is as inflammable as the outside; the floor is covered with a fine straw mat, and the divans and windows with light cotton, or muslin curtains. There are no chimneys or grates. The fire is kindled in a mongal, a pan of charcoal laid on the mat, or sometimes under a table called a tandoor, covered over with a cloth, under which people thrust their legs when they sit round it, and they frequently upset it. The Orientals are seldom without a pipe in their mouth, the burning bowl of which generally rests either on the mat, or the cotton cover of the divan, on which the burning embers fall out when it is carelessly turned. The ashes are frequently shaken out while yet ignited, and suffered to extinguish themselves on the mat. There are copper pans sold in every bazaar to lay under the pipes, and guard against accident; but though sometimes bought, they are rarely used. I have scarcely ever seen a mat or a divan which was not marked with burnt holes arising from these causes; and I have more than once seen a woman cross the room, from sitting over a charcoal pan, or under a tandoor, with the tail of her petticoat in a blaze. The predestinarian opinions of the Turks, combined with the careless habits of all, give constant occasion to accidental fires.

To these is to be added, the disposition to incendiarism

among the people. The mode in which a discontented Turk shows his anger, is by setting fire to houses. It is a notification that some dissatisfaction exists, and it is generally the precursor of inquiry and redress. It is thus, in some measure, legitimated. A street on fire is considered like a parochial meeting, and its remonstrance is attended to. The substance used for incendiarism is well known; it is called a Condac. It is a cake, varying in its size, composed of rags, enveloping sulphur and other combustibles. It is lighted by a bit of spunk, inserted in the centre, which burns with a slow combustion, and at the expiration of about an hour ignites, and immediately communicates fire to wood or any inflammable substance with which it is in contact. They are sometimes laid down by themselves, sometimes tied to stones and thrown into windows, and a fire is known by them to be intentional or otherwise; whenever they are found in the neighbouring houses unconsumed, as they often are, it is a certain proof it was not accidental.

From all these causes there is no city in the world, perhaps, where fires are so frequent or so extensive as at Constantinople. De Tott records an awful one which occurred in 1755. It consumed the Vizir's palace near the Seraglio, and proceeded to the church of Santa Sophia, where the air became so hot that the lead on the domes melted, and ran down the spouts like water, miserably scalding all who were assisting to extinguish the fire. By a sudden change of wind to the east, it was carried from hence in three branches. Two of them met and inclosed a whole orta of janissaries who were endeavouring to pull down a house, to stop the progress of the flames. They were all suffocated or consumed. Two-thirds of the city were destroyed.

An old gentleman of Pera informed me, that he kept an

account of seventy-four fires which had occurred in four months, and that he himself was burnt out eleven times. Before our arrival fires had been very frequent; both the Russian and Swedish palaces at Pera had been consumed. In the latter was a fine cabinet of antiquities, which M. Palin, the Swedish Minister, had been a long time collecting; it was entirely destroyed with the building. But that which I now witnessed was the most extensive and calamitous that had occurred for many years.

On the 1st of March, 1823, about eight o'clock in the morning, a woman at Tophana went to the bath, and left a tandoor, at which she was sitting, burning till her return. Before she came back, however, the fire communicated to the table, and when she returned the room was in a blaze. The Turks seldom notice the conflagration of a single house or of several; so the neighbours pursued their usual business, leaving the fire to go out of itself, or the old woman to extinguish it, as it pleased Allah. The house was situated in the bottom of the valley of Tophana, near the market, and in the most dense and crowded part of Pera, and the fire immediately communicated to the adjoining houses. The wind had blown very strong from the south for several days before, and the weather was dry, so that the houses in this quarter, which were all built of wood, were in a very inflammable state, and the fire immediately spread in the direction of the wind with great rapidity. In two hours it had made such progress that all Pera was alarmed. The view from the top of the English palace about ten o'clock was very terrific; the whole valley of Tophana seemed on fire. Several minarets of mosques which rose from the midst of the flames, appeared like immense torches stuck in the ground; their white sides remaining untouched, while a cone of flame issued from the top.

The wind was blowing strong from the south, and directly up the valley, so the flames were carried rapidly along in that direction.

About eleven o'clock I proceeded to the back of the Galata Serai, to the open space which yet remained unbuilt after a fire of last year in this place. The conflagration was advancing rapidly up the street that led to this space. Five fire-engines had been brought down, and a number of trombadgees, with their naked arms and metal caps, were sitting idly on them. The street was narrow, and but one was brought to bear on the fire; the rest were inactive, with the firemen smoking their pipes. The propensity of a Turk is displayed without any regard to time or place. He is fond of flowers, and he sticks them everywhere; I was surprised to see, in the midst of fire and smoke, the engines decorated with them. They were fresh gathered, and their fragrance and beauty strongly contrasted with the horror and destruction of everything around; the idle trombadgees turned about every minute to smell them, and again applied to their chibouks. Beside these were men with long poles, terminated with iron hooks, like boat-hooks; with these they attempted to pull down a house next the one on fire, but after a few boards in the front were displaced they desisted, and stood with their poles erect against the wall. Men with axes also made an effort to cut away some timber, but in a short time they all desisted, and suffered the fire quietly to proceed. The houses here belonged to poor people, who could not give them bacshish, and so they made no exertions.

The fire now grew so hot that I could remain no longer, and I returned. The people from the neighbouring houses were slowly removing what they possessed. This generally is not much. There are no tables, chairs, beds, or any of

the numerous articles with which our houses are encumbered. Almost the whole furniture consists of the cushion of the divan, on which an Oriental eats, sits, and sleeps with a thick quilt thrown over him. This he takes on his back and walks out of his house when the fire comes next door. Among the fugitives an old woman came out of the house adjoining the fire with her whole furniture—a stool in one hand, a reel in the other, a large gourd under each arm, and a cat on her shoulder; after some time the cat began to struggle, unwilling to leave its old residence, and at length escaped back into the burning house. The mistress quietly followed it, and after some delay again brought it out. The cat still struggled, and a second time made its escape. The house was now falling fast in burning fragments, and several persons endeavoured to dissuade her from entering it; but she would not desert her cat—went in once more in search of it, and was scarcely across the threshold, when the whole fell in, and she and her cat were never seen more. Some bustle now occurred, and on inquiring into the cause I found it was a horrible one. A law exists that any one found robbing at a fire is to be thrown into it. The Seraskier had just come up on horseback, and a man was accused before him of taking some property that did not belong to him. He was ordered by the Seraskier to be cast into the flames, and the bustle I saw was the execution of the sentence.

About two o'clock the fire had spread as far as Beshiktash, and the whole face of the hill looking over the Bosphorus, for nearly two miles, was a sheet of fire. All the inhabitants of the neighbourhood had brought what they could save into the great burying-ground, and were bivouacked among the trees; so that the whole large space was filled up with fugitives and small heaps of furniture;

but now the fire seized on the trees, the resin of the cypress rendered them highly inflammable, and the whole was in a blaze. The progress of the fire was as curious as it was beautiful. As the wind waved the slender and flexible summits of the cypress, they continually threw out from their extremities large bright sheets of flame, which floated along unbroken to a considerable distance, like the lightning produced in theatres by throwing powdered resin against the flame of a candle. In a short time the whole burying-ground was covered with a canopy of this blaze, and the poor people below, unable to bear the showers of fire which fell on them, were compelled to seek another asylum.

On this day we dined at the Austrian Palace, and about five o'clock the fire seemed as if it had exhausted itself for want of fuel; but the wind had changed, and the flames were rolled upon a district which had hitherto escaped; and when about nine o'clock we came out of the saloon, the aspect of the fire was very awful. The Austrian palace lies in a valley, and was now flanked by an immense amphitheatre of fire, as if it was at the bottom of the crater of an ignited volcano. The progress of the fire seemed very extraordinary. At the distance of several hundred yards from where it was raging, and among a dark mass of houses, a bright and luminous spot would appear. This remained stationary for a short time, and then suddenly burst into a blaze, which inclosed all the intervening houses, so that the fire became one continued surface. From this manner of progress it seemed almost certain that fire was intentionally set to various distinct places at once; but it was clearly ascertained that these communications were made by light ignited matter carried through the air, and falling on the dry wood, which soon bursts into a flame in the heated atmosphere. The Turks and Franks here universally attri-

bute it to *red hot nails*, exploded from burning timber with such force as to stick in distant houses, and so communicate the fire. But there is no proof that nails so explode; nor if they do, have they ever been found so communicating the fire. Simple flakes of light inflammable stuff, which were floating about in the direction of the wind, would easily account for the effect.

We were now alarmed by the report of cannon, and imagined every moment that some conflict had commenced; and in fact a serious calamity had like to ensue. It had been rumoured all day that the fire was planned and executed by the Greeks, in connection with the insurgents of the Morea, and the Turks were with difficulty restrained at different times from taking summary vengeance on all they could find. The fire at length reached the arsenal at Tophana about nine at night, and instead of unloading the guns on the wharf, which were continually kept shotted, the Turks suffered the fire to seize the carriages, and they all exploded in succession, throwing their balls across to Scutari; some shells also, which, they say, were overlooked on the wharf, and, overtaken by the fire, burst, and both circumstances created an extraordinary sensation in Pera; but at Constantinople it was reported to have been caused by an attack on the Turks, whose houses had been set on fire. An immediate soulèvement of the janissaries took place. They raised a cry, and ran down to the water-side to get boats to assist their friends. It would have been a tremendous addition to the calamity, if twenty or thirty thousand armed fellows had thus rushed into the midst of the burning city, like soldiers into a town taken by storm. The horrors of Scio would have been repeated; but providentially they were stopped. The janissary Aga had all the gates closed which led to the water, and in the meantime prevailed on them to

ascertain the fact before they went over. Messengers were sent across, and having stated the real cause of the explosion of the guns, the janissaries dispersed. About four in the morning the wind had entirely subsided, and the force of the fire with it, after it had continued to rage with inconceivable fury for above twenty hours.

The Turks having no kind of statistical tables, it is impossible to ascertain the number of houses destroyed; some accounts raise it so high as thirty thousand: but it is impossible. I went round the burnt district both while the fire was raging, and after it was extinguished, and I walked through the ruins. The extent of the fire was about two thousand yards, not an English mile and a half, and the greatest breadth about eight hundred yards, not quite half a mile: in that space were thirty-four mosques, all of which, with the houses attached to them, were destroyed, or nearly so. The number of houses attached to a mosque forming a Turkish parish is, as you know, very varied, so that I could make nothing of the data; but, supposing the Peninsula of Pera to contain thirty thousand houses, and one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, which is the usual conjecture, it will appear that about one-third has been destroyed, or about ten thousand houses, and fifty thousand people left without habitations, which is in fact a calamity of sufficient magnitude without any exaggeration. Comparatively very few lost their lives, considering the imperturbable character of the Turks, and their utter inaptitude to take any precautions. About five hundred persons, consisting of bed-ridden old men and women, sick and young children, perished in the ruins.

The fire was, as usual, attributed to the discontented janissaries, and was taken as an expression of their opinions. It was rather remarkable that not a single house belonging

to a Frank, or even a Raya Christian, was consumed. Whatever the Sultan's opinion really was, he affected to believe it entirely accidental. A firman was immediately issued that no Turk should, in future, leave his house without carefully extinguishing any fire remaining in his mongal or tandoor.

This great fire was followed by several smaller, consuming many houses both in Pera and Constantinople, till at length another most serious one broke out, which affixed the suspicion not to the Turks, but the Greeks. One Sunday morning my attention was called to a great smoke, which issued from some houses in the district called Casim Pasha, just below the Palace; and, on looking from the kiosk on the top of the building, I saw eight or ten houses on fire. This was a district hitherto untouched, and on the side of the peninsula opposite the former. When service was over, I proceeded to look at it from a nearer place. The wind had fanned it into an immense flame, and borne it directly on the arsenal. The alarm was now very great. It was necessary to call in the aid of 3000 or 4000 men to remove the stores and tow the ships which were laid up into deep water; but, before this could be effected, the fire had seized them. One of them was a ship of the line, and she sailed out from the docks in a blaze. It was impossible to contemplate this novel feature of a conflagration here without feeling a new and extraordinary interest. The little burying-ground on which I stood formed a terrace, crowded with spectators like people assembled in an amphitheatre to witness some display. Immediately below us was a surface of fire, blazing to the water's edge, from whence issued the gallant ship, forming a vast pyramid of flame, slowly drifting across to the other side, to convey the conflagration to Constantinople. From the two towers on

each peninsula issued the deep and solemn sounds of the great drums, booming on the wind; and every one seemed waiting with breathless expectation till this vast *brûlot* would carry the fire across and the Seven Hills would burst out into a blaze. The Turks seemed now firmly persuaded that the whole was designed and executed by the Greeks, and they became very savage and dangerous. About seven in the evening, however, the wind ceased, and the progress of the conflagration was suddenly arrested, and as it grew dark exhibited the extent of the fire. It formed a triangular area, the apex of which was near the British Palace and the base along the edge of the water, in which the red-hot embers of 2000 houses were glowing like a charcoal-furnace:—detached was the hull of the man-of-war, now burnt down to the water's edge. The destruction of the arsenal, two corvettes, and this ship of the line, was the result of this bold attempt of the Greeks. Had the wind continued as strong and in the same quarter as when the fire began, and the burning ships, as was intended, been driven among the houses on the opposite side, there is little doubt but the whole city might have been consumed, and the most extensive destruction effected that was ever caused by a fire-ship. Several Greeks were apprehended on suspicion, and some of them executed on that evidence, which is always sufficient to satisfy a Turk. I never could learn, however, any further particulars, though some of my friends in the Fanal obscurely hinted at them.

This calamitous fire had been preceded by news of a very disastrous kind from the seat of war in the Morea,—the fall of the important fortress of Napoli di Romania, which put the key of the peninsula into the hands of the insurgents. It was partially interesting to me, as our frigate the Cambrian had been conspicuous in the transaction, and some of

my intimate friends, the officers, had acted a highly meritorious and laudable part, particularly the first lieutenant, Scott, to whom I was indebted for many acts of kindness. The Turkish garrison, having first killed, with great reluctance, the horses, asses, camels, and other animals shut up with them in the garrison, and eaten their flesh, were then compelled to feed on such roots and weeds as they could pull from the rubbish of the bastions, and, when that miserable resource failed them, were reduced to the horrid necessity of satisfying the cravings of nature on the emaciated bodies of their companions, who had died, and were daily dying, of disease and exhaustion. The perfidious violation of former capitulations by the Greeks had determined them never to trust to them again, and, with a dogged and imperturbable resolution, some silently died of hunger, and others fed upon the bodies. Not the most distant hope remained of their liberation, still they continued firm in their resolution which, for two years, shut up in the fort, they had persevered in. An extraordinary accident, however, determined the fate of the place. Above the fortress stood the Palamide, an outpost which commanded it. The Turks, under the pressure of intolerable hunger, one dark night, silently stole down to obtain some sustenance from the town below, when the Greeks, apprized of the circumstance, cautiously approached, forced the gate open, and, rushing in, made themselves masters of the place, after a feeble opposition from the few emaciated beings left inside.

When the famished Turks returned from below, they found the gates shut, and the fort in possession of their enemy. The Pasha, as soon as he heard of the circumstance, offered 5000 piastres to every Turk who would be concerned in retaking it; but the feeble and exhausted men with him were utterly incapable of undertaking any offensive

operation. In this state, the fortress, commanded from above and attacked from below, could make no longer any resistance, and agreed to terms of capitulation. Providentially at this time the Cambrian was in the neighbourhood, and our gallant ship hastened to the spot, to see the terms faithfully observed by the Greeks. Captain Hamilton moored her so that the town and the Greeks were under the range of her guns; and he sent my friend Lieutenant Scott on shore, with the marines and part of the crew, to superintend the embarkation of the garrison, some on board the Cambrian, and some on board ships provided for their conveyance to Scala Nova. Scott is a small man, of few words and great good nature, but of the most determined and fearless spirit. The Greeks had a force of 8000 men, under little control from their leaders; and though the latter were well disposed to protect the Turks, the former seemed determined to renew again the scenes of Navarino, Athens, and other witnesses of their cruelty and want of faith. Scott, however, formed a lane with his small force from a gate which led down to the shore, and through this 600 Turks with their wives and children marched securely to the ships. The bold countenance of the Lieutenant with his little band kept in awe the wild mass of armed men that pressed about them, and who, no doubt, would have fallen upon the feeble and unresisting Turks did they not know who it was that protected them. The whole garrison, to the amount of 900 persons, were embarked in seven Ipsariot vessels and brought to Scala Nova, the Greeks retaining hostages that their ships should be allowed to return in safety after landing them. A considerable number of sick and feeble were embarked on board the Cambrian and brought to Smyrna, but not before forty of them died of exhaustion, notwithstanding every care was humanely bestowed

on them. A singular circumstance related by some of these men was, that almost the only part of their emaciated companions, who died in the fortress, capable of affording a meal was their hearts. While all the rest of the body was attenuated so that scarcely a fibre of flesh covered the bones, the muscles of the heart remained as plump and full as during health, and was always the part sought by those who fed on the body.

The surrender of this important place was by far the most decisive event that had yet happened in the revolutionary war; and the sanguine Greeks of the Fanal supposed the independence of their countrymen now established without a possibility of reverse, particularly so as the surrender was made on the Greek festival of St. Andrew, the tutelary saint of the Morea, and was a decided proof of his protection. It certainly was a most important epocha in the events of the Revolution—it disengaged the largest force the Greeks were ever able to collect together, and rendered them available for other enterprises; it raised the spirits of the insurgents to the highest degree, and gave them a confidence in their military skill they never had before: but the most important advantage was, that it established a character for them with European powers, which they greatly wanted. They showed themselves, for the first time, capable of good faith and the usages of civilized warfare; and it was a proud boast to British officers, and our friends of the Cambrian frigate, that they were the first who taught them this important lesson.

Whenever anything extraordinary happens, and the weak and superstitious fancy of a Turk is excited, it is sure to be accompanied or followed by some preternatural warning or communication; and an extraordinary circumstance of this kind now occurred, which excited the conversation of all

Pera. In the month of February, a Sheik arrived at Constantinople with some pilgrims from Mecca, and proceeding to the Seraglio, he demanded, with an air of authority, a private audience with the Sultan. He was at first refused admittance, and rather rudely repulsed; but, on his solemn declaration that he had something of great importance to communicate from the prophet himself, by whom he was despatched from Mecca to the Sultan, he was admitted. He then informed him, that while he kept watch on a Friday by the sacred Sepulchre, on the right-hand side, in the still hour of midnight, while he was yet awake, and in the full possession of all his senses, he heard a monitory voice, giving him various warnings about the state of things, which he detailed to the Sultan. When the voice had ceased, he looked attentively at the tomb, and he perceived a visionary arm thrust out, holding a scroll between the fingers and thumb; this paper he took, and the arm was again withdrawn. The Sheik then put his hand into his bosom, drew out what he said was the actual mysterious scroll presented to him, gave it to the Sultan, and withdrew. The Ulemah were immediately assembled, and the whole affair submitted to them, to decide on its authenticity, that it might be committed to the Archives of the Empire. Meantime copies of it were circulated, and it was translated into every European language spoken by the several missions at the Porte.

This is not the first monitory warning which the Sultan of the Faithful has received from the prophet. In 1791 a similar communication was made, and the circumstance circulated at Pera. On the present occasion it was supposed by some to be a diplomatic ruse, and as the talent and ingenuity of the English Ambassador were well known, his diplomatic brethren attributed the contrivance and

composition to him. I can assure you, however, on his own authority, that he was not himself the author, nor does he know who was. Such a communication certainly was made to the Sultan, and a firman was issued that every mussulman should have a copy of it, and wear it next his heart. However an infidel might doubt or scoff at it, the true believer received it with implicit credit. I found, on inquiry, that it was issued from all the mosques as a solemn and preternatural communication, so I took a janissary with me, and proceeded to Santa Sophia, where he obtained for me a copy from one of the Imauns of the temple. It was a beautifully illuminated little scroll, and the fac simile of that which the prophet thrust out of the tomb. I had it carefully translated, and I send you a copy*. Whatever opinion you may entertain of its authenticity, it is at least so far valuable that you may rely on it as containing the genuine opinion of a Turk of the present day, on sundry articles of his faith. You see he still believes he shall have "two damsels, one on the right hand and the other on the left, and meet the day of judgment looking in their faces." Fair houris and sensual gratifications still make an essential part of a Turk's belief in a future state.

Did the Turks confine their religious opinions to speculative points, the mere absurdity of their belief would be the only subject of censure; but their practical fanaticism is, with little abatement, as cruel as ever; and of this two instances came to my knowledge about this time. One of them was a Greek of Smyrna, who had abjured Christianity and conformed to Mahomedanism. Tortured by remorse, and perhaps roused to a new sense of his degradation by the successes of his countrymen, he determined to abjure

* See Appendix, No. 4.

the religion he had embraced, and return to that he had abandoned. When the circumstance was known, he was seized by the Turkish authorities, and examined as to the fact. In a fit of enthusiasm he declared his determination, and his head was instantly struck off. No other charge was brought against him.

Another was the case of a Jew, who in a similar manner had abandoned his own religion, and adopted that of the Turks. He, too, was affected with qualms of conscience,—went himself voluntarily before the Cadi, and declared his conscience would not permit him any longer to profess the religion of the prophet. The Cadi was unwilling to bring scandal on the faith by acknowledging this second instance of apostacy, so he told the man he was insane, to go away, and return again when he was sound in his mind. The Jew, like the Christian, became enthusiastic, and treated the prophet and his religion with such disrespect, that the Cadi ordered his head to be struck off also. In both cases the friends of the parties steeped pieces of cotton in the blood of the martyrs, which were carefully preserved as precious relics by Jews and Christians.

When I heard of these circumstances, I made particular inquiries about the fate of the unfortunate Northcote—well known as a barrister and a clever and ingenious man, but of more pretence than talent. He was the author of "The Metropolis," and other clever satirical poems, which made a noise at the time, and he was well received at the Castle of Dublin, where he strongly recommended himself to the witty Duchess of Gordon, when she visited the Irish metropolis, and at whose parties, it is said, he lost large sums at picquet. He at length became deeply involved, and was compelled to leave Ireland. He received an appointment at Malta through the influence of some persons to whom

his talents and agreeable qualities had recommended him; but falling here, too, under the suspicions of improper practices, he proceeded to Constantinople, where he turned Turk, soon acquired the language, and had a post in some department bestowed upon him. Mr. Wood, one of the dragomans of our mission, was well acquainted with him, and to him he confided some feelings of remorse for his conduct and apostacy, and his determination to return again to the religion in which he was born. Mr. Wood told me he warned him not to let his intentions transpire, if he valued his life. He, however, incautiously made some declaration of it before a Turk, and he was immediately put to death, just before our arrival at Constantinople. The fanaticism of a Turk is, you see, still unabated in this particular. It is true he does not march with the sword in one hand and the koran in the other, leaving the vanquished the alternative of death or Mahomet, but it has come to my knowledge, since my arrival in the country, that he has compelled many of his Christian captives to undergo the Mahomedan rite, and punished with death those who apostatised from it.

CHAPTER V.

Princess' Islands—Proté—Unsuccessful attempt of English to dislodge Turks—Platé—Desolate State—Oxea—Remains of Edifices of Lower Empire—Antigone—Archbishop of Mount Sinai—Chalki—Remains of Ancient Mines—Picture of Last Day—Tomb of our first resident Ambassador—Prinkipo—Exorcism of Demoniacs—Anecdote of Greek Priests—General character of the Islands—Subject of sudden Hurricanes—Prison for suspected Greeks—Hospitable Greek Ladies—Family of Greek Musicians—Melancholy Fate—Atrocious character of Sultan Selim's Sister—Plague at Buykdere—Alarm at Pera—Curious Cause—Crew of suspected Ship in British Chapel—Terror of Plague—Return to Princess' Islands.

THERE is an archipelago of islands lying about nine miles from Constantinople, in the Sea of Marmora, very pleasantly situated a short distance from the Asiatic coast, and from their amenity and fertility, and the purity of the air, are now, and have been since the time of the Greek empire, the constant resort of opulent Greeks. They were formerly called Demonesia, the Island of Spirits, as some translate the word*. Four are fertile and inhabited, five are more sterile, and though there are found on them the remains of former edifices, are at this day altogether abandoned. They are each denominated from some local circumstance, and still retain their ancient Greek names. I visited at different times, and with various friends, each of them in succession, and I shall describe them to you in the order in which they stand.

The nearest is called Proté†, from being the first met with after leaving the Bosphorus. It lies seven and a half miles from Constantinople, and is about three in circumference.

* Δημονησια.—Est et contra Nicomediam Demonessus.—Plin. lib. v., ch. 31.

† Πρωτη—Quod prima occurrit venientibus Byzantio et Chalcedone.—Gil. de Bosph. p. 373.

On its eastern side is a small village. The social propensities of the Greeks are such, that there are few or no detached houses on any of the islands, but the inhabitants all congregate together in particular spots. The appearance of the island is remarkable. It consists of two distinct and equal heads joined together by a valley. On one of them is a monastery, from which the English suffered some annoyance and loss in the unsuccessful expedition of Admiral Duckworth. A party of sixty Turks landed on the island from Kadi Kui, and established themselves in the monastery. The English fleet lay near the shore, and were in the habit of sending there for water or other things unmolested, but they now found themselves suddenly attacked from this commanding position, and the people daily wounded. It was considered therefore necessary to dislodge the Turks, and a strong party of marines was landed for the purpose. They, however, conducted themselves so imprudently, that they suffered severe loss. They ascended the hill, which is quite denuded, without a single shrub to afford any covering, and were completely exposed to the fire of the Turks from the windows of the convent; and, after losing their commander and a considerable part of their detachment, before they had advanced more than half way, they were obliged to retreat to their ships, which soon after precipitately retired.

The next we visited in the order of succession was Platé*, so called from its flatness. It was about half a mile in circumference, and covered with a thick matting of marine plants, which, when bruised by being trampled on, or broken by forcing our way through them, emitted a very strong and overpowering odour. These plants are the cover of innumerable sea-fowl, particularly gulls. We everywhere trod

* Πλατη.

upon their eggs and young, while the parent birds flew screaming and hovering over our heads, frequently stooping on us, and brushing our hats with their wings. It strongly reminded me of some of those solitary islands in arctic and other remote regions seldom visited by man, of which birds alone keep an undisturbed possession; but this was within a few miles of an immense city, the noise of whose population could be heard, if it was not drowned in the screams of those birds. We left this island, from which we were in some measure driven by its wild inhabitants, feeling it another evidence of the exceeding solitude and depopulation of every place around this great Turkish capital.

From hence we proceeded to Okea*, which its name well designates. It rises so high, that it is more distinctly seen from the capital than the rest, out-topping, as Gillius says, the seven hills on which it is built, and it is surrounded on all sides by sharp, steep precipices. On approaching the east side, the view was very picturesque. A semicircular bend formed a fine bay, around which the rocks rose abruptly, very rugged and romantic. We made our way up the sides, and were surprised to find a considerable portion of the precipices was formed by the ruins of edifices, tottering on almost inaccessible projections. Among the lowest were the remains of cisterns, into which the rain-water, falling on the summit and trickling down the sides, was continually deposited. The want of springs in this archipelago was its greatest defect, and here were formed reservoirs which supplied them. Two yet remain, and the Greeks still use those cisterns of their progenitors. Our boatmen brought with them vessels, which we let down and filled, and found the water below good, though perhaps some of it had re-

* ὄγδοα.—Insula in acutum verticem fastigiata undique præceps et prærupta. —Gil., p. 373.

mained there without being drawn off for several centuries. On ascending higher we stood on a platform, which seemed the ruins of a chamber, one half of which had fallen over the precipice on which it was built, and the other remained forming a semicircular section. Of this we took possession, and in this remnant of the palace of the emperors we prepared our breakfast, and made our tea with the water of their cistern. From hence we ascended by a steep path, winding spirally round the island, and everywhere made our way through walls built of flat bricks, cemented with a mortar made of lime and pounded tiles. Through all the ruins were dispersed small cisterns; one so called stood like a chimney, on the highest point of the island, and resembled an inverted tundish, the broad part which should expand above to receive the rain being below. Shading the ruins, we saw what we supposed to be trees, but on approaching them, found they were plants of the giant fennel*, which on this rugged rock shot up to the height of ten or twelve feet, with expanding branches, forming considerable-sized trees, and their umbels a shady foliage. On cutting the stem, a milky juice exuded, which hardened into a gum resembling in appearance, and having in a degree the odour and flavour of asafœtida. I found this plant nowhere in the East but on this rock. Tournefort describes it as abounding in a similar way in the island of Skinos.

We descended from this rock of ruins, which it seems was the prison as well as the retreat of the Greek emperors, and to which many a victim of jealousy and ambition, when he was deprived of sight, was sent for the remainder of his life, and we passed over to the little island of Pitya †, so called, from the abundance of pine which once covered it, though now nearly denuded; and from thence to Antigone, distant

* Ferula gigantea. † Πιτυς — Pinus Maritimus.

about one mile. Zonaras says it was formerly called Panormus, but does not tell why it was changed to Antigone. It rises on a single eminence, on which stood a monastery in the time of Gillius, which yet remains. It is about three miles in circumference, with a village on the east side, surrounded by vineyards. Here we found the learned and excellent Archbishop of Mount Sinai, who received us very cordially. As a man eminent among his countrymen, and distinguished for many high qualities, he had become an object of jealousy and suspicion to the Turks. He was therefore placed here under surveillance, and in this little island was as completely incarcerated as if he had been shut up in the prison of the Bostangee Bashi. Here he had full leisure to pursue those literary and theological studies to which he had devoted himself. Among the former he had written a statistical work on Constantinople in modern Greek, containing an account of its ancient and present state, for the benefit of his countrymen; but this, though a simple detail of facts, and perfectly harmless as a political work, was now a subject of much suspicion to the Turks, as they looked with a jealous eye on any allusion to the time when the capital was in possession of the Greeks. He had therefore sent the work to Venice to be printed, and awaited a more favourable time for its publication. Among the latter he had been engaged in collating and correcting the translation of the Scriptures into modern Greek, of which he was an active promoter. In this sacred study he was engaged when we visited him, and we found him, like St. John in his Patmos, preparing a Revelation for his countrymen, which, generally speaking, they had before no access to. Though the income of his see was suspended, and he was, as we afterwards found, in much pecuniary embarrassment, he declined to accept from the Bible Society any remunera-

tion for his time and trouble in correcting the translation. He affirmed that promoting their sacred object was his first duty, and his occupation in doing so was his great consolation in his present perilous position. The Turks had offered him the Patriarchate, which he declined, as likely to impose on him a still more anxious and dangerous situation than that in which he lived, and not likely to be so useful, though he confessed to us he expected in every boat that landed on the island the Turkish caique that was to carry him to the capital, to undergo the fate of his reverend brethren.

From hence we proceeded to Calcitis, or as it is called by the modern Greeks, Chalki, from χαλκος, brass, in which it formerly abounded. It is described by Aristotle under the name of Demonessus, from the name of a man, he says, and hence it is probable that the whole archipelago was called Demonesia. He further affirms that it was celebrated for chrysokolla, gold which is a remedy for the eyes, and brass brought up by divers*, of which was made a statue in the temple of Apollo at Sicyon. The island bears evident marks of this metallic state. We met heaps of pebbles stained with various tints of green and blue, apparently from some copper oxide, and which appeared to be the cyanus mentioned by ancient writers. In one of the valleys, where the sea forms a delightful bay, are evident marks that mines were once worked. Large heaps of waste thrown out from the shafts and scoriæ from furnaces are found still in the state in which they were left by the Greeks of the Lower Empire. Here it was that Gillius gathered what he calls cœruleum and chrysokolla; and in fact everything in this spot is exactly in the state in which he describes it, and attests the

* Χαλκος κολυμβητης.

general accuracy of all his accounts*. The scrobes or heaps he mentions consist of stones with copper incrustations of various shades of blue, and slags in different stages of calcination and vitrification. He also adds that, if the bay were explored, there would still be found abundance of Aristotle's brass; for this we made frequent searches and inquiries, but could find no trace or tradition of it existing. Some wells in the valley are strongly impregnated with a metallic taste and of an azure hue, and are used only for the purposes of irrigation.

The contour of the island is very remarkable. It forms a triceps, or three distinct heads. On the summit of one of them is the Monastery of the Triades, or Trinity, once very extensive, but the greater part of it burnt down. The side containing the church is perfect. In the porch is a large and curious picture of the Last Day. On the summit is the Deity dressed in sumptuous robes, and crowned like a king. Before him is the book opened by cherubims, like a long music-book, extending from side to side of the picture, containing the final sentence of every individual. On his right, below, is a garden, formed into little compartments of boxes, like one of our tea-gardens, each containing some distinguished individual. In one is Abraham, with Lazarus in his bosom, like a child in a nurse's arms; in another is the penitent thief, with his cross on his shoulder, looking very cold and miserable. On his left is a representation of hell, depicted by the mouth of a great beast, who is swallowing the wicked by thousands, as the devils throw them down to him from above. Among them are the traitors

* Circa hunc Sinum existunt aggeres scrobium pleni ruderibus rejectis ex effusione æris et chrysokolla et cœrulei atque inter ipsa rudera collegi eximium cœruleum et absolutam chrysokollam.—Gil., 376.

and persecutors of Christianity. The most conspicuous of the first is Judas, with his bag, struggling in the crowd; and of the second, Diocletian, with remorse in his countenance. It was intimated to us, that Mahmood, the present Sultan, would be joined with him when it will be safe to do so. The artist has copied the satire of Leonardo da Vinci in his Last Supper, and inserted an individual who was personally hostile to himself, for he has introduced among the damned a dragoman of the Porte, with his calpac and other designations, with whom he had a quarrel. I notice the particulars of this picture because my attention was directed to it at Constantinople as a *chef-d'œuvre* of art, and one of the most distinguished to be found in the whole of the Greek church. The name of the artist, and the time in which he flourished, the caloyers* could not inform us. The church itself is dedicated to St. George, who is represented on horseback, piercing the dragon with his spear exactly as he is with us. Beside the monastery is a kiosk commanding a magnificent prospect of the whole archipelago. This is a general appendage of all such religious establishments. It is a kind of coffeehouse, where strangers are served with pipes and coffee by the monks, which they pay for as in any other. The costume of this convent, as generally of all the rest, is a thin loose robe of light blue cotton.

On the opposite hill is another convent dedicated to the Panaya†, or Virgin. We ascended to it by a broad road, the only one that had any pretensions to the name that I had seen in Turkey. As we wound up it towards the summit, it presented us with varying and beautiful pictures of the surrounding scenery. The road was skirted with copses of myrtle and arbutus, interspersed with groves of young pines, and from the centre of them issued the building of

* Καλοι γεροντες, good old men. † Παν ἁγια, All Holy.

the monastery. This was not distinguished by a picture, but by a much more interesting object. Our first resident ambassador, Sir Edward Barton, had retired to this island for the restoration of his health, and having died here, he was buried, and a tomb, with an inscription, erected over him. The tomb was still standing in the time of Dallaway, in 1797; in process of time it had been dilapidated, and the stone containing the inscription carried off. It was his Excellency Lord Strangford's wish to have it found, and the tomb re-erected in a suitable manner, and surrounded with iron railing, in the place where it originally stood, over the spot where the remains of the deceased were deposited; and he commissioned me to ascertain the one, and to make inquiry after the other. The caloyers showed them both to us. The first was in the pine grove beside the monastery, and they pointed out to me the second in the archway of the gate of entrance, immediately over the door. In repairing the edifice, they took the first stones that came to their hands, and this afforded a convenient one. It is inserted in the wall on its side, but the letters are still perfect and very legible. It is as follows:—

EDVÆRDO. BARTON. ILLVSTRISSIMO. SERVANTISSIMO. AVGVSTISSIMO. AN GLOR. REGINE. ORATORI. VIRO. PRÆSTANTISSIMO. QVI. POST. REDITVM. A.BEL. VNGARICO. QVO. CVM. INVICTO. TVRCÆ. IMPERATORE. P. PROFECTVS. FVERAT. DIEM. OBIIT. PIETATIS. ERGO. ÆTATIS. Æ. XXX. SALVT. VERO. ANNO. MDXCVII. XVIII. KAL. MA.

I thought nothing more would be necessary than to give directions to have it replaced in its former site; but I found, as it had now become part and parcel of the convent, it would be necessary to have the Sultan's firman to have it taken down, as not a stone can be displaced in any religious edifice of the Greeks without such permission, and paying a

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE

Engraved & Printed by R. Sears & Co
St Paternoster Row

TOMB STONE OF A BRITISH AMBASSADOR

on the Wall of a Convent in the Island of Malta

large sum for it; not being prepared for either, I was obliged to defer it till another opportunity.

Two long avenues of magnificent cypress, terminating at an angle, and diverging in right lines, lead to a princely residence on the sea-shore, near the town. This was formerly the palace, we were informed, of Mavroyeni, a Greek prince, who had a situation in the army of the Grand Vizir in the last Russian war. He was decapitated by the Vizir for some alleged delinquency, which so exasperated the Sultan that he decapitated the Vizir and his son as a sacrifice to his manes. The palace and its gardens remain magnificent monuments of the liberal and splendid manner in which the Greeks formerly lived. The house, however, had latterly belonged to a family of the name of Affendooli, a Greek gentleman put to death at the commencement of the present troubles. The Turks then came and gutted it of all its splendid furniture, which filled four or five saccolevas, or large boats, and in their generosity left the family of the unfortunate man the naked walls, which they could not remove. It was now occupied as a summer residence by Baron Ottenfels, the Austrian internuncio.

From Chalki we crossed over to Prinkipo, the largest and most populous of the islands, and from which they take their modern appellation. It is the most distant from the capital. The Emperor Nicephoras banished to this island Irene, the widow of Flavius Leo, with whom she had been crowned Empress in 749. She was left a widow, with a son, for whom she managed the government, but when he arrived at an age to take it upon himself, she put out his eyes, to render him incapable. After this horrid act she was sent herself into exile to these islands, and built a monastery as an atonement for her unnatural barbarity, in

which she ended her days *. From her the whole group was called the Princess Islands, and the largest, Prinkipo.

It is about eight miles in circumference, with a town in its east side, containing about three hundred inhabitants. Along the shore are the remains of a very extensive convent, which once contained fifty nuns. On one of the hills is another, but in a great state of disrepair. It is dedicated to the Transfiguration †, and contains but a single monk. On the highest eminence of the island is another, dedicated to St. George, in high repute for its sanctity.

The practice of exorcising demoniacs is still in use in the Greek church. In many of them are bolt-rings sunk in the floor before the altar, with chains passed through them. To these the maniacs are led and chained, and the service of exorcism is performed over them. When we visited the island, an extraordinary event occurred from this practice. The monks were Moreotes, and because they were natives of the Morea they fell under the same suspicion as the Patriarch, though the poor men had not been from home, or scarcely out of the island, for the last fifteen years. The Turkish officers arrived, and seized four of them, who were sent to Constantinople, to abide their unhappy destiny. Another was a man more shrewd than the simple and retired persons who had at once submitted to their fate. So when he saw the Turks ascending the hill, he was fully aware of their object, and determined to defeat it. There were at this time an old and a young man and a young woman who were supposed to be labouring under demoniacal possession, and were lying chained to the floor of the chapel undergoing the process of exorcism. The monk immediately ran into the

* Zonaras—Cedrenus, quoted by Du Cange.

† Μεταμόρφωσις.

chapel, and slipping the chain from the neck of one of the patients, put it about his own, and lay there grovelling and shrieking, when the Turks entered in search of him. From the habitual respect they bear to all deranged persons, they made no examination, but, turning round with a feeling of awe, they committed themselves to the care of Allah, and silently retired with the rest of their prisoners. The ingenious priest immediately disguised himself and escaped to Pera, where he took a passage on board an English vessel bound to Taganrock, as a Frank. The vessel was becalmed under the Castles for a considerable time, and visited by the Turks. The same sagacity, however, which had deceived them in the first instance now eluded their detection. All his companions, they informed us, were executed.

Beside Prinkipo are two islands, attending like satellites on a great planet. One is called Neandros, and the other Antirovithi. They are uninhabited, and remarkable for nothing, except that the latter is called the Island of Rabbits, with which it once abounded.

These islands, lying between the Asiatic and European shore, and at the distance of eight or ten miles from either, are exceedingly healthful and beautiful, and much frequented as a summer residence. The softness and balminess of the air are still further increased by the vegetable productions. They are generally wooded with arbutus, which bears rich and large berries in great abundance; they are constantly eaten as strawberries, which they nearly resemble in colour, size, and shape. Different kinds of oak also abound, particularly the kermes*, which grows round the convent of the Panaya at Chalki. But besides these are others which impregnate the air with their odours; various species of pine, particularly the sea fir†, the myrtle, one

* Quercus coccifera. † Pinus Maritima.

variety of which has large white berries, and the Cyprus turpentine *. In making our way through any thicket of these, we were obliged to brush against or bruise them, and they emitted a strong and grateful scent. The plant, however, which most abounds is the cistus†, of various gummiferous kinds, which sometimes colour the hills with their blossoms. As we walked among them we found our boots and pantaloons covered with the gummy exudations we had brushed away, while the odoriferous particles ascended and formed an aromatic atmosphere of almost palpable fragrance around us. This is, perhaps, one of the causes that conferred upon the islands the luxurious character they have acquired. There is something of the effeminacy of a Sybarite in breathing such perfumed air. In the time of Lord Sandwich the Turks of the capital retired here to indulge in those excesses which would not be permitted in the capital, and to which the peculiar constitution of the air invited them. The islands were then, like Capreæ, the scenes of retired debaucheries.

The water that surrounds them is no less pure than the air that covers them is balmy. It is generally supposed that, like most clusters of islands, they had been originally all united, and separated by some convulsion. There runs from Prinkipo a promontory towards Chalki, which it is highly probable once joined it, and similar indications exist in other islands. The channels between are not shoaly and intercepted, but very deep, faced with steep sides, as if one large rocky island had been rent asunder into several parts, divided from each other by deep chasms. The British fleet under Admiral Duckworth lay between them in perfect security. The water is so clear, that the bottom can be frequently seen at a considerable depth; and the inducement

* Pistacia Terebinthus. † Particularly the Cistus Creticus.

to bathe in it so great, that groups of Greek ladies remain in the water for an hour together, as I afterwards saw.

They abound in fruit and vegetables, particularly gourds, melons, and grapes. Fish swarms round the coasts, in all the bays and channels, which are taken at night by Greek fishermen by means of lighted faggots, projected in a furnace from the bows or sterns of their boats, so that these lights are continually seen all night moving round the islands. The Greeks are very fond of this mode of fishing, not only as a profit, but as a pastime. Poultry is very plentiful, and also meat, but not such as is sold in Leadenhall Market. When the Aga heard we were on one of the islands, he sent us a present of a sheep, and we sent him back a bacshish of about five shillings, which was certainly more than the poor animal was worth.

The islands all labour under the disadvantage of want of fresh water. There are springs both at Chalki and Prinkipo, but they are disagreeable and unwholesome, from metallic impregnations. The only water consumable as drink is rain, preserved in cisterns, which is so guarded that every one has an iron door, or stopper, kept carefully shut by a lock and key. In dry seasons it is fetched from Constantinople.

Another disadvantage is frequent hurricanes to which they are subject, which come suddenly on in the midst of the most calm and beautiful weather. They are preceded by a death-like stillness in the air, and then indicated by a dark circumscribed spot, of a lurid appearance, near the horizon, on the point from which the wind rushes. The first night we slept among the islands we experienced one of those. I was awoke by an unusual bustle among the boatmen in the harbour just under my windows. They were securing their boats with an anxiety, I thought, very unac-

countable, for the night was calm and beautiful. My attention, however, was attracted by a hazy appearance between the moon, which was now setting, and the horizon, which seemed to grow more dense and circumscribed every moment, till it became a black spot about the apparent size of my hat, with some faint prismatic colours round it. While I was watching its progress, it seemed to burst, and an explosion of wind rushed from it like a hurricane. The window out of which I was looking was forced in, along with all the rest on that side of the house. The boats were all dashed together, and blown up on the beach; the calm sea was in an instant covered with white foam, which was raised up and driven against the houses in great broad flakes; the whole village was roused from their beds, apprehensive that the houses would all be carried away, and everything, which just before was in the most profound repose, was now in alarm and commotion. In little more than ten minutes the whole again subsided; the cause, as if it had rapidly passed along with the storm, was no longer visible, and the sky was calm and perfectly clear again. The effects are generally as local as they are sudden. They are sometimes scarcely felt at all at Constantinople. The operation of this, however, I found was more extensive. The people of the British Palace were alarmed by the bursting open of all the doors and windows at midnight; and one of the tall minarets of the mosque at Scutari was snapped across like a pipe-stopper, by the sudden and rapid rush of the current of air.

It was formerly the custom to fly to these islands whenever the plague visited Constantinople. Here breathing a pure atmosphere, and out of contact with contagion, the people felt a sense of security, and were generally exempted from attack, and at that time they were crowded with inhabitants, particularly Greeks. By a kind of proscription, no

Turk is permitted to reside here; so that, with the exception of four or five who are sent officially, they are never seen. The whole population is Greek, with a few Franks, amounting to about eight hundred, including those of Prinkipo, whom I have mentioned. The islands were now crowded with Greeks, but from a different cause. They were made a kind of prison, where all the suspected were sent from the Fanal, and whence they could not escape. They were shut up here, as they said themselves, like fowls, in a hen-coop, where they were always to be found, and from whence they were daily taken to be killed.

When we first landed on Chalki we had with us a janissary. In passing near the vicinity of the village, we saw crowds of Greeks of a rank above the common, distinguished by their calpacs. They were sitting under all the trees in different groups, playing checks or dominos, and quite absorbed and interested in their game, as if they were living in a state of perfect security. At the sight of the janissary, however, a visible alarm was communicated; like the children in the consul's garden at Scio, they seemed to shrink instinctively from him, and in fact did apprehend he came to select some of them for execution. When apprized that he was merely our attendant, their confidence at once returned, and they resumed their games with as much eagerness and loquacity as if they were in their own houses in the Fanal in the most secure times. In fact, every day a caique, with a chouash, arrived, bearing an order to send some of them to the capital. They were carried off from under the tree where they sat, and in the midst of their game, and were never seen by their friends again, who, nevertheless, continued their play, expecting next day to be carried off themselves. All the houses not inhabited were sealed up by the

Porte. We saw on several bits of sheep-skin nailed across the opening of the doors, and were informed that it was the Turkish mode of sealing up a house. We wished to occupy one which was the property of a British merchant: we found it thus closed, and so were shut out, for we had brought with us only the keys and the owner's permission.

As we could not enter the house which we proposed, and it was too late to return to Constantinople, we felt considerable embarrassment how we should bestow ourselves for the night. The Greeks were strictly prohibited from holding any communication with Franks, much less to receive them into their houses, and we were likely to pass the night under a tree, when we received intimation that we could be accommodated. We followed our guide, and were admitted in rather a mysterious manner into a respectable-looking residence. We saw no one except an attendant, who prepared refreshments for us, and then conducted us to apartments upstairs. On preparing for bed, I turned down the divan, and perceived a pair of small ornamented slippers, and from them and other things it was evident the apartment belonged to some ladies. The next morning, as we were going away, we inquired to whom we were indebted, and found we had a kind hostess in a Greek widow lady, who, with her two daughters, resigned to us their own apartments. Her name was Mansoor. Her husband had been a distinguished man in the island of Cyprus, and was agent for his nation at Constantinople, a place of great trust and distinction. He was besides a gentleman of amiable disposition, a kind heart, polished manners, and cultivated mind, and highly esteemed by the Greeks, as we afterwards learned. He had gone to Cyprus only a few days before the disturbances commenced, and he was one of the first Greeks seized on and executed. His

property was confiscated, and his widow and her daughters sent as prisoners to the islands to abide any future proceedings the Turks might think it right to pursue against them. We were greatly embarrassed for having thus obtruded on them, occupied the apartment in which they slept themselves, and exposed them, perhaps, to further peril and persecution by breaking a strict law, which enjoined that all the Greeks at their doors should even retire within their houses when they saw a Frank approach, and this we perceived was the case in several instances. But all this did not prevent these amiable ladies from exercising the rites of hospitality when it was required. We afterwards saw and thanked our kind hosts very sincerely. The family consisted of a grandmother, a venerable old lady, a mother, and two very intelligent and interesting girls, her daughters, whose room it appeared we had occupied. They were all dressed in deep mourning, and greatly interested us. Knowing the state of pecuniary embarrassment to which they were reduced, we wished, in some way, to make them a remuneration, but we found such a thing could not even be mentioned without wounding their feelings. You have heard that the Greeks are a mercenary people—I found them always the contrary.

The state in which the Greeks live here was strongly exemplified by an incident that occurred while we were on the island of Prinkipo. Near the village is an extensive promenade, constantly crowded with Greeks, whom we saw walking about, laughing and talking in the most heedless manner, though some of them were daily taken away for execution, like those at Chalki, and none of them could tell the moment it would be their own fate. In the rear of the promenade was a fine house, with a walled garden on the side of the hill, which people visited as a curiosity. It

belonged to a Greek of consequence, named Nicolai. He was a man who had some musical talents, which he had improved in Italy; and the Sultan, having been told of his proficiency, wished to hear him. He was so pleased with his performance, that he begged him to instruct singing-girls intended for the Seraglio. He also established a choir of musicians by teaching some of his friends and children to play on different instruments, so as to form a pleasing band, and the Sultan frequently sent for them to amuse him. He was respected and esteemed on the island, and was one of the gentlemen to whom we were introduced. He invited us to visit his garden, where he received us like a patriarch, surrounded by about twenty children and grandchildren. It was on Saturday, the commencement of the Bairam; and while we were there a boat arrived at Prinkipo from the Seraglio to carry him and his musicians across to play at the festival. They hastened to put on their gala-clothes, and they embarked, in high spirits, to the number of ten persons, including himself and his eldest son. The boat did not return at the usual hour; and, in these times of treachery and suspicion, his family became alarmed. To appease their anxiety, his second son, a fine lad of nineteen proposed to go to a coffee-house at the water-side and inquire about his father and friends. While he was there a Greek entered and asked for the lad. The master of the coffee-house pointed him out, and the Greek, who proved to be a Turk in disguise, told him he must come with him, as he had orders to carry him over to his father. He begged to be permitted to speak to his mother, but not a moment was allowed him, and he was immediately carried off. When the rumour of this reached the unfortunate mother, she rushed down to the water to obtain a boat to follow her husband and children; but the boatmen were

ordered, under the severest punishment, to take no Greek from the island. She ran back in a frantic state, hastily disguised the remainder of her children and grandchildren, and then, abandoning the house, went to conceal them among the hills of the island.

For two days nothing was known concerning the fate of the absent, and we continued anxious and doubly interested in the event. On the third day, a caique arrived with their clothes, which were returned as a mark of the Sultan's especial favour:—the persons to whom they had belonged were dead. We now learned the particulars of this atrocious affair. The sister of the late Sultan Selim was a woman notorious for her gallantry. Her person was exceedingly forbidding, but her libidinous propensities were uncontrolable; and any unfortunate man with whom she wished to gratify them was sure to be the victim, whether he complied with her wishes or not. If the first, he was to be sacrificed by her relations; if the second, by herself.

In one of the visits of the musicians to the Seraglio, some time before, she cast her eye upon a comely person among them, and had her wishes, as usual, notified to him. Knowing her disposition and his danger, he thought it even safer to acquiesce than refuse, and an intrigue commenced, which, however, had terminated several years before. No attempt was made to renew it, his apprehension subsided, and he went to the Seraglio as usual in perfect security. On this day, however, the caique, instead of proceeding to the Seraglio, was rowed to the kiosk at Beshiktash. The Sultan was waiting for it, standing at one of the windows, and the musicians, supposing they were sent for to amuse him there, were preparing their instruments to play, when they were all seized on. The unfortunate paramour was first strangled and cast into the

sea, while the Sultan looked on; after him, some of the rest were treated in the same manner, including Nicolai and his two sons, the lad who first went with him and the lad who was sent for and afterwards brought over. An elderly man of the band, when he saw the execution of his companions, immediately lost his senses, and became fatuitous. In that state the Turks respected him, and would not lay their hands on one whom Allah had already visited. This circumstance saved the lives of the rest, whom they were about to strangle. They were brought to the prison of the Bostangee Bashi, and, after suffering some infliction there, sent into exile.

When their fate was thus known, the scene that ensued was very afflicting. The females of the family rushed down, with their hair dishevelled, with an intent to cast themselves into the sea, and were hardly prevented. As the family was not only esteemed but extensively connected, the whole island was filled with shrieks and lamentations. On this occasion, the story of the unfortunate women of the Seraglio was revived; and a Greek told me it recalled to his mind the shrieks he had heard several years before, when they were committing them to the deep close to the islands. In the midst of these distressing scenes, the Turks deliberately proceeded to Nicolai's house, which they began immediately to strip of all its valuables. They said not a word either in sympathy or anger, but with perfect gravity plundered everything they could lay their hands on. They did no injury to the walls, but carried off everything contained within them, and gave us to understand that Hunker, as they always call the Sultan, and now with great propriety, had sent back the men's clothes, and not torn down his house. We left what remained of the unfortunate family within the bare walls of the house, and prostrate on the floor. The

reason assigned for these atrocious murders was, that the woman had made advances to some other of the band which were not attended to, and so the first affair was divulged to the Sultan, who sacrificed these innocent victims to his wounded pride and the detestable passions of his relative.

Attracted by the salubrity and beauty of these islands, I agreed with my friend, Mr. Leeves, to take apartments in the convent of the Panaya, in the island of Chalki, for the summer. One wing of the building had been fitted up by the family of Prince Ypselantes. It consisted of a large saloon, with two recesses, and four chambers opening into it. Nothing could exceed the beauty of the situation, or the views which the apartments commanded of the islands and the sea of Marmora in every direction. Regular Greek boats constantly ply between the islands and the capital; leaving the former every morning at five o'clock, and returning every evening at three. I proceeded to Pera on Saturday to attend to my duties the next day, and returned again on Monday. The very voyages were delightful. We generally stripped in the boat, jumped into the sea, and swam a part of the way. Nothing could be more pleasant or salubrious than this mode of proceeding: the buoyancy of the swell, eight or ten miles from the shore, the lucid transparency of the water, the bracing effect of the cool element, and the beauty of the prospect, contributed materially to support our health and spirits in the midst of carnage, conflagration, and pestilence that surrounded us.

This latter had now made its appearance in the capital in an alarming form. It had raged with violence at Buykdere and Therapia, and all along the Bosphorus. It broke out among the troops quartered there, and as you passed

you saw the dying and dead lying together, in small tents, not larger than sentry boxes, under the same canvass, and a few emaciated creatures that had escaped walking about them like spectres. The Turks did not show the slightest disposition to separate the infected from the healthy, though they made some effort at conquering their stubborn predestination, by hanging the clothes of those who died outside the tent to air, before they put them on themselves; even this was considered an extraordinary effort at precaution. Among the unfortunate Greeks, who neglected no precaution, the disease had been still more fatal. After all the executions and exiles there still remained about 300 in the village of Buykdere. Of these 140 died in a month, as one of their priests informed me. Among them was the Reis, or Pilot of the Spanish Ambassador's State Barge. The poor man, alarmed at the mortality about him, asked permission to occupy a house in the Palace Garden, which M. Zea, with his usual kindness, allowed him to do. He was seized, however, with the disease, and with all his family fell victims to it in a few days. Lord Strangford had brought with him to the Congress of Vienna a Greek servant from this place. His wife and children were all swept away before his return.

But all Pera were now alarmed by another circumstance which occurred in the heart of the town. The Catholic clergyman of Buykdere had just returned from that place, to the convent of St. Antonio, to which he belonged. He complained of illness, and in thirty-six hours was dead. As the circumstances of his death were alarming, the plague doctors were sent for; but, on due examination, no mark was found to indicate pestilence. The body was then laid out in the chapel, with his naked hand extended, and as he was a man of celebrated sanctity, thousands came to

kiss it. One of the persons while performing this ceremony, thought he perceived something suspicious on his arm; so it was rumoured about, and it was thought necessary to examine the body a second time; and then, buboes and carbuncles were actually discovered. The notion entertained of the plague at Constantinople is, that it is not communicated by atmospheric infection, but inevitably so by contact with the body dead or alive. The alarm was excessive; there was scarcely a Frank house in Pera to which the pestilence had not been carried home in this way, and the whole city was considered as tainted. The convent of St. Antonio was closed up, and put in quarantine for forty days; barriers were placed at the gates of all the palaces; no person in a long dress was allowed to pass; an apparatus for fumigation was erected at the door, where every person in a short dress was obliged to enter, and remain till he was nearly suffocated, before he was allowed to proceed farther.

In this state of alarm I was the unconscious cause of great uneasiness. I was rather sceptical on the subject of inevitable contagion, in which I was confirmed by my intelligent friend Doctor Macguffog, the Physician to the British Embassy, who would not hesitate to visit patients in that disorder, were he not deterred by the prejudices of the people: if he were known to enter a house where the plague existed he would be excluded from every other. I found that there was generally a number of English sailors in the harbour who were not aware of the existence of a place of Protestant worship, or supposed that the Ambassador's chapel was not intended for them. So after obtaining his Excellency's permission, I was in the habit of going or sending to the harbour, whenever an English ship arrived, and inviting the crew to our chapel. I did so at this time

usual; but was afterwards told that the pestilence had burst out among the shipping, and that the vessel I had visited had brought a foul bill of health from Egypt, and the crew was particularly infected; so I sent to the captain of the Porte to say I would dispense with their attendance, and I thought no more of it. Just as I began service on the following Sunday, I saw the captain and all his infected crew march into our chapel. The day was very warm, the little chapel was crowded to excess, and when I looked and beheld a sickly man wedged in between every two of my healthy congregation, where he sat compressed like a spunge, and giving out infection at every pore, I hope I did not sin when I wished them back again in the Red Sea, or anywhere but where they were. I expected that my congregation would start up and leave the church, that one-half would sicken with apprehension, and the other never enter the chapel again. They had, however, more good sense and a better feeling; some knew, and others said nothing about it; we all escaped, and the ship soon after left the harbour.

It is impossible to give you an adequate idea of the alarm which this disease excites here. Its ravages have been so great, that it is looked upon, even by enlightened Europeans, with the same hopeless terrors as in the darkest ages of ignorance and superstition. When any person is seized with it he is abandoned to his fate even by his nearest relatives: no medical man will dare to approach him, on pain of being himself shunned and ruined. All rational mode of cure is neglected as useless, and every aid of medicine given up in despair. The only object is, not to save the diseased, but to protect those that are not so; and to this selfish feeling everything is sacrificed. That sympathy which our common nature yields the sick is here

denied:—the sick of the plague are put out of the pale of pity, and looked upon as some noxious things, which it ought to be not only allowable, but meritorious to destroy; and so the disorder proceeds, rending asunder the ties of families, extinguishing the charities of life, till at length it has become here the most dreadful moral as well as physical evil,—at once the scourge and scorn of humanity. An example now and then occurs, when the parent does not desert the child, nor the child its parent; but these are considered rare instances indeed of a devotion at once fearful and extraordinary. I was glad to leave a place where this state of feeling predominated. Indeed I had committed myself in such a way as to make me feel I was looked upon with some alarm. I had been detected in parts of the town where the plague was raging, and I walked along with such culpable carelessness through the streets, that I was seen to suffer the skirts of my coat to touch a man in a long dress. So I retired with double pleasure to the islands, when duty did not require my presence at Pera.

In the boat one day was a young woman, who became very sick on the passage. It was generally attributed to sea-sickness, and I frequently held her up over the side whenever the disposition to vomit came on. A few days after, I was called on to visit a person very unwell: I found it was the same young woman. Her sickness in the boat was an attack of the plague, which she had caught at Constantinople. She was servant to a Greek family on the island, and when she found herself growing very unwell, she was afraid to tell the circumstance, lest she should be abandoned to her fate. She therefore continued to wash and work in the ordinary way, though labouring under the pestilence, till she sunk down. On examination she was found to have buboes, and the worst symptoms of

the disease. She died next day, and her sister who slept with her became also infected, and died in a few days after. These two poor women fell victims to the malady, and their deaths were probably accelerated by the terror and apprehension of a discovery that they had the disorder. It was communicated to no other person on the island.

CHAPTER VI.

Voyage to Nicomedia—Libyssa—Tomb of Hannibal—Toosla—Colony of Storks—Amusement of Turks—Cherries—Aga of Darjha—Retreat of Early Christians—Inlet—Beauty of the Gulf—Site of City—Gonak in the Bishop's Palace—Dangerous Books—Muzzelim—Decrees of Diocletian—Extirpation of Christianity—Baptism of Constantine—Present State of Nicomedia—Travelling Retinue—Turkish Horses—Khan at Sabangee—Immense Cherry-tree—White Waters of Sakâriah—Pylæ—Beauty of Valley—Ocean of Trees—Lefkeh—Turkish Entertainment—Effects of Tea—Tartar Couriers—Nicæa—Extraordinary Appearance—Palace of Constantine—Ancient Christian Church—First Œcumenic Council—Subjects discussed—Second Council—Restoration of Image-worship—Recent Prosperity of Nicæa—Present Desolation.

The islands lie nearly opposite the mouth of the Gulf of Nicomedia, and within a reasonable compass were many objects of interest and curiosity. The towns of Nicomedia, Nicæa, and Brusa,—with all their historical recollections,—stood in our mind's eye; while Olympus rose before us, an object of our external sense, covered with snow, and inviting us to cool ourselves on its summit. We therefore hired a large Greek caique with her crew, and having laid in some sea store, set out on a voyage of discovery up the gulf. We first landed at Libyssa, where Hannibal poisoned himself, to escape the persecution of the Romans. He was buried under a large tumulus, or conical mound of earth, exactly like that of Achilles on the plains of Troy *: it still exists, and we meditated excavating it and seeing what it contained. I am particularly interested about it. The Carthaginians, we are informed, spoke Irish, at least so General Valancey said, and who knows but I may find some valuable Irish MS. in Hannibal's tomb to support the tottering credit of the worthy antiquarian? We did now,

* Εν Βιθυνῃ τόπος ἐστι ὑπερ θαλάσσης καὶ ταφος ἀυτῳ κεῖται τις ὃν μεγάλη Λιβυσσα καλεῖται.—Plutar. Paral in Flam.

however, no more than pay our passing respects to the memory of this illustrious Irishman, and proceed on our voyage of discovery.

We next landed at Toosla, or salt-town, a wretched village in a fine country, containing about 300 Greeks and Turks. Over a fountain was a grove of platanus, which exhibited a curious appearance. It formed a colony of storks, who were as numerous as crows in an English rookery; their nests were of an enormous size, as large as pigsties, and nearly resembled small houses. Among the materials innumerable smaller birds had built their nests, and lived safe under the kindly protection of the parental storks. These colonists sometimes take flight in a body, and visit the Princes' Island, where they wheel round the tops of the hills and again return. I was one day covered by a cloud of them, which expanded over me like a vast canopy. We have an early prejudice in England, that this bird is the inhabitant only of a country under a republican form of government, taking our notions from the vast numbers in Holland: it does not appear, however, that they have much preference for such a thing, when they are contented with the government of Turkey. As it was the feast of the Bairam, the Turks were all in their holiday clothes, and amusing themselves; their recreation was a swing-swong, a cord attached to two trees, in the loop of which they sat, and were swung backwards and forwards by one at each side. On a bank was a number of others knitting stockings, and waiting for their turn to swing. In their employment, amusement, and expression of delight, they resembled a party of girls, though some of them were grave men with white beards,—and it was not the first time I had occasion to remark the childishness and effeminacy of their habits and enjoyments. We found the vene-

rable Aga sitting under a tree, where the people, as of old, came to him for judgment. He had a napkin of cherries spread out before him, and was looking kindly at the sports of the rest, as a mother enjoys the playing of her children. Hearing we were going to Nicomedia, he said he could send letters by us; and in the meantime he recommended to us to go into some of the cherry-orchards and eat the fruit. Toosla is remarkable for the size and excellence of its cherries. You remember that cherries were first brought by Lucullus to Rome, and thence reached England, from Cerasus on this coast*, where after an interval of more than 2000 years, so unchanged is nature, that they retain their primitive excellence, and are still called by us from a corruption of their original name. It is one of the odd customs of the Turks, which their contact with Europeans has not yet broken them of, that any stranger may enter a man's garden and eat as much as he pleases, provided he takes none away with him. So availing ourselves of this right, we walked into the first romantic garden we met, and ate such cherries as really surprised me,—they were as large as walnuts, and of the most delicious flavour. When coming away, we bought some for sea store,—two okes for ten paras, that is, five pounds and a half for about three halfpence.

We next passed a promontory called by the Turks Elghenkia, but by Sonnini Cape Blanco, a name which it well deserves, as it consists of a very white sandstone, and forms a conspicuous object at a distance; and in the evening we landed at Aretzui, where we proposed to sleep. The place is called by the Turks Darjha, corrupted into Tragea by some travellers, and consists of about 350 Greek and 60 Turkish families. We sent our Tartar to the Aga, but

* Is (Lucullus) primum vexit e Ponto annisque cxx. trans Oceanum in Britanniam usque pervenere.—Plin. lib. xv. cap. 25.

he returned without being able to find him, so we went ourselves to his palace. Here we learned that the worthy magistrate, for some reason unexplained to us, had run to hide the moment he heard of our approach, and shut himself up in the women's apartment as the place most inaccessible to us. We were lodged at a wine-house, and supped on a fish called kephalos by the Greeks, from the size of its head, which we had purchased at a large weir in the gulf. It resembled a bream, but was a much more palatable fish. We left early in the morning, and passed the ruins of an extensive fortress on a hill, called palæocastra, a name given to all old edifices. This was comparatively modern, a fortress of the Lower Empire. The gulf is here about four miles wide, and the shores on each side very beautiful. On the west it slopes to the sea, and is highly cultivated; but it soon breaks into various romantic hills and deep-wooded glens, with high mountains in the background, occupying all the space to the Gulf of Moodania. The east shore, which we coasted, is remarkably bold and steep, and the water, within an oar's length of it, several fathoms deep. We now arrived at Maloon-iskelli, a small port, where some Turkish craft were lying, the first symptoms of navigation we saw in this fine gulf. This little place is remarkable as the ferry of the only road from Constantinople.

Proceeding on our voyage we were attracted by some singular-looking rocks, like human habitations, on the steep and apparently inaccessible side of a mountain that overhung the gulf, and we landed to explore them. We were informed by an old man who kept a kind of solitary coffee-house in a cave below, that the places above were the habitations of the primitive Christians, who flying from the persecutions of Diocletian, which particularly devastated

this province of Bithynia, had formed a little town in this inaccessible place. With great difficulty we climbed up to it, and found it to consist of the remains of rude edifices hollowed in the rocks; one of which had part of a wall still standing in the front, and, from the marks of a cross, was probably the little church in which this persecuted remnant performed their sacred mysteries. By a singular transition, this place, in which a spark of Christianity was preserved from total extinction, afterwards became the haunts of Arabian robbers, who, at a later period, were notorious for their rapine and cruelty. I confess I was greatly interested in these remains, though they were little more than heaps of shapeless rock. Diocletian was the most bitter enemy of Christianity that ever lived, and after immolating 150,000 Christians by different kinds of cruel deaths in this province alone, he boasted that he had totally extirpated them and their religion. To contemplate one of the little spots that had eluded his vigilance, in which the expiring flame of Christianity was kept alive till it again illumined the world, was no small gratification. I procured at this place a coin of Diocletian, among many of the Lower Empire which they brought us for sale. It is said the Roman coins are particularly valuable for preserving the likeness of the emperors. If this has any merit in this way, the head depicts a character of singular atrocity. Yet he is represented by historians, notwithstanding the cruel deeds to which he gave his assent, as a man of mild, philosophic character.

The wind now changed to the inbat, which we found blew in this harbour as well as in that of Smyrna, though running in a different direction. Indeed, we were waiting on shore till it set in, and now embarked hastily to avail ourselves of it. The Gulf here suddenly narrowed to half

its former breadth, and we glided along through shores exceedingly beautiful and highly improved, resembling the pastoral scenes of England, swelling into gentle hills and cultivated over their summits. On the sloping face of one of these, at the head of the Gulf, appeared before us the celebrated city of Nicomedia or Ismid, rising from the water and embosomed in the dense woods with which the hills were covered. While contemplating the fine site chosen for this first capital of Bithynia, we were curious to see the present state of a city, which had now stood for 2400 years on this beautiful spot. It was evening when we proceeded to land; and, while floating over the calm bosom of the water, it strongly recalled to me the scenery of some of the lakes of Cumberland. Round the bay were lofty mountains, with many broken and abrupt ridges, throwing over it a great mass of shade. From these arose wreaths of mist, which floated along the sides in fantastic forms, giving to the whole landscape something very picturesque and romantic.

As this is considered a port, our first duty was to proceed to the custom-house. Here we found that the only trading-vessel which had arrived for some time was a small bark, commanded by an Italian in a Frank dress, and who was there unloading his cargo of wood and hoops. We found the Gombrookgee, or head of the custom-house, was a Jew, as is usual in other parts of the empire, the Turks having a high idea of the commercial talent of that people, in which they find themselves so deficient; and in fact, they are obliged to search for a man who is not a Turk to fill any employment which requires common ability. We explained to him what our object was in coming to Ismid; but he had caught the feeling of his employers, and could not conceive what could induce the English to run about the country for no motive but to visit ruins and collect old stones. He,

however, was very civil,—entertained us with pipes and coffee till our janissary, who had brought our firman to the Muzzelim, as the governor here is called, returned with an order for our conak. The Muzzelim immediately sent his chouash, who conducted us to a private house assigned for our use as long as we pleased to remain. This was a pleasant, spacious edifice on the sea-shore; and, after we had taken possession and made it our own, we found we had got into the bishop's palace. The unfortunate Bishop of Nicomedia with four others were at that moment in the horrible house of torture, the prison of the Bostangee Bashi at Constantinople, and with the most perfect indifference the Turks gave us his palace. While we remained we were attended by his chaplains, who did everything to make our residence agreeable. And here a circumstance occurred which strongly marks the state of apprehension in which these poor people live. Several of the tracts on moral and religious subjects which have been printed in English for distribution among the poorer classes, have been translated into Romaic by different religious societies, and sent out here for similar distribution among the Greeks. We had some of these with us, and gave them to such of the children as could read. Next day, one of the priests brought them back, and said they were dangerous books. We begged of him to point out any dangerous passage, and he marked one, namely,—"What is your duty to your brother?" Answer: "To love him and to assist him."—"Now," said he, "if that was pointed out to the Turks, they would immediately conclude that it meant our brothers in the Morea, and so it would bring destruction on us all." It happened that I had received the proclamation which the new government of the insurgent Greeks had published just as I was setting out, and so, not having time to read it, I took it with me to

amuse us in the boat. If, therefore, the suspicions of the Turks had been excited by this tract, and they had then found the insurgent proclamation in my pocket, no doubt but all the Greek priests would be hanged on the spot; and the least we could expect would be, to be sent to keep company with the bishop in the torture-prison of the Bostangee Bashi. We therefore did not attempt the distribution of any more tracts on our journey.

Our Greek friends informed us there were many inscriptions yet remaining, but they were afraid to accompany us to point them out, so we the next day visited the Muzzelim, who exhibited a more perfect picture of Turkish state than we had yet seen out of the capital. On four sides of a spacious apartment sat four corpulent figures opposite each other, in their robes, in the centre of the divan, which each of them alone occupied. They were smoking with their long pipes projected into the middle of the room, and were as taciturn, grave, and motionless as statues. The Muzzelim himself, a goodly large man about forty, received us with a courteous smiling countenance, and immediately assigned us a chouash to conduct us to whatever part of the city we wished to visit. We found in one of the streets a sarcophagus converted into a reservoir of a fountain, an inscription in good and legible preservation, which intimated that Sergeius Demetrius had erected it to his wife. Beside it was a pedestal with the usual dedication to good fortune, and in a garden a long inscription, on what appeared the base of a statue which had been erected on it by the citizens, to some individual. A few words were legible, but in a very mutilated and unintelligible state. One line mentioned a statue, and near the conclusion were two lines, containing the words

ΠΑΡΑΤΟΝΚΤΙΣΙΝΜΟΥ ΘΕΑΝΟΡΟΙΠΝΗΣΟΥΤΟΝ.

While we copied them the Turks were very assiduous

to assist us; one brought wet grass to wash the stones; another cleared out the letters with the point of his yataghan. We were first at a loss to find why they took such interest in a thing so foreign to their habits and thinking; but we learned that they thought the inscription pointed out some hidden money which they expected to share, if they helped to discover it. These, with a few other fragments, were all that remained, as far as we could find, to commemorate what probably was the ancient state of the town; but that which more interested us was the events that took place at a comparatively modern period.

We were anxious to see the traces of Diocletian's palace, from whence issued those terrible decrees which were to extirpate Christianity, and we were shown what tradition pointed out as the site. Diocletian was passing the winter in this town, when his ferocious colleague Galerius persuaded him to summon a council of the most distinguished civil and military officers, and submit to them the question whether Christians should be suffered to live. The council met, and the Christians of the city waited in fear and anxious expectation for the terrible result, which was to put to death every man who professed the religion of the Gospel. The council agreed that Christianity ought to be extirpated; and Diocletian sent forth those tremendous decrees which have stigmatised his memory with having sanctioned the most cruel and atrocious acts in the records of mankind. Orders were first given to burn the books of the Christians, shut up their churches, punish all who observed the Lord's day, and put to death all who frequented secret assemblies. The time fixed was the feast of the *terminalia*, which historians remark was to put a period to the religion of Christ; and at the dawn of the morning the officers of the Prætorian guard commenced

the persecution by entering the principal Christian church of the town, first burning the Scriptures, and then regularly sacking and destroying the edifices. This commencement was the signal, and the massacre followed, which deluged the whole empire with blood, till at length coins were struck, and pillars with inscriptions erected, intimating the extirpation of Christianity. The coins I have seen—they represent Diocletian as Jupiter, brandishing his thunderbolt over prostrate Christianity, whom he had just struck down, as Jupiter formerly struck down the Titans, who had equally but as vainly strove to dispossess him of heaven. The inscriptions are still more expressive, for they declare "that the Christian superstition was now extinguished, and the worship of the gods restored by Diocletian and Galerius*."

But the city that thus witnessed the attempt to extirpate the religion of the Gospel, was also to witness its final establishment as the recognised religion of the civilized world, and the place where the first Christian Monarch was baptized. The last event of Constantine's life occurred at Nicomedia, and was as remarkable as it was interesting. Though he had embraced Christianity, he had deferred his baptism; warnings of sickness and debility reminded him of its necessity. He had been in a declining state of health, and had proceeded to the warm baths in the Gulf of Nicomedia; but after some time passed in vain trials of

* The coins are described by Baudurius, Vaillant, and others. Vaillant has the following remark:—Diocletianum exhibere voluisse suum Jovem fulmina vibrantem in Christianos veluti olim pinxere Poetæ in gigantes, quum Christiani bella movent in Jovem inque reliquam deorum turbam.—Num. Imp. Rom., fol. tom. iii., p. 51.—The inscriptions on the pillars are preserved by Baronius, Occo, and Gruterus. One of the... is DIOCLESIAN. CÆS. AVG. GALERIO IN ORIENTE SVPERSTITIONE CHRIST. VBIQVE DELETO ET CVLTV DEOR. PROPAGATO.—Grut., p. 280, n. 4.

their efficacy, he caused himself to be removed to the pleasant suburbs of the city, and as the Feast of the Pentecost was now at hand, he expressed a strong desire to have it performed. He therefore called the Christian bishops about his couch, and made to them an affecting address: —"The time," said he, "demands that I should now partake of this Seal of Salvation. It had been my intention to have proceeded to Bethabara, and receive this solemn rite in the waters of the Jordan, in public imitation of my Lord; but God knows best what is expedient, and let his will be done*." Every preparation was therefore made for the ceremony, and it was performed by the Bishop of Nicomedia. He appeared deeply impressed with it, and caused himself to be clad in a white robe, as emblematic of the purity it conferred; and in this robe he died. As coins had been struck to commemorate the destruction of Christianity at this place, it was not likely that so important an event as the baptism of the first Christian sovereign here would pass without a similar recognition. Accordingly coins were struck on the occasion, which have come down to the present day. One of them I have seen, representing the Emperor, with the Legend importing that he was "regenerated by baptism†."

We passed some days at Nicomedia, and were greatly struck with its modern beauties, though so little remains of its antiquities. We applauded the judgment of the first Nicomedes, who, when he had talent to establish an

* Euseb. vit. Const., lib. iv., 63.

† This coin is given by Occo, Bergerus, Mediobarbus, and Du Cange, who all concur in the opinion that it commemorates this event. The Legend, however, on the coin, BA"NAT, I am aware has been differently read and interpreted by others.

independent kingdom, had judgment to erect his capital in such a spot. He seemed to have imparted his independent spirit to his successors, for they maintained themselves in this newly-erected empire for two centuries, till the last of the name surrendered it into the hands of the Romans, and it became one of the provinces of that all-grasping people. It is better built than most Turkish towns: a deep ravine divides the hill on which it stands, from whence it slopes down to the sea and expands into a broad valley. Nothing can be more exuberant than this beautiful place, filled with gardens abounding in all kinds of fruit, trees and flowers, and vocal with nightingales, who seem to occupy every branch and shrub. The valley is said to be subject to a bad malaria, though the inhabitants look healthy, and seem highly to enjoy its more than Asiatic luxuriance. The town contains 22,700 inhabitants, of which 20,000 are Turks, and 2500 Greek and Armenian Christians, and about 200 Jews.

From Nicomedia we proceeded by land. We had a firman for the purpose, and so were provided with menzil cattle, that is, the sultan supplied us with horses for which we paid nothing but a bacshish, or present to the menzilghee or man of the stables. Whenever I made an excursion from Finglas, my mode of conveyance was a stick in my hand, my luggage a shirt in my pocket, and my whole retinue a chance dog. I set out from Nicomedia in the following order:—two surrogees, or guides, and guards with pistols and yatagans rode in front; then followed our baggage and sumpter horses, carrying beds, utensils, and provisions; then came our Tartar janissary, an Arabian Turk from Aleppo, dressed in full costume, and armed to the teeth,—then succeeded ourselves, three gentle-

men,—then our servants, and, last, led horses,—forming a cavalcade in all of fourteen horses. The consequence of the person is generally estimated by the speed at which he drives, so we left Nicomedia in a gallop, which the janissary thought it necessary, for our credit's sake, to keep up the whole way. Our road lay through an extensive plain, at the head of the Gulf. There are generally no other roads in Turkey but what travellers make for themselves; they are in some places half a mile wide, and in others narrow tracks where only a single horse can go at a time. We sometimes, therefore, were scattered over the plain like a cloud of careless Tartars on the steppes of the Ukraine, and sometimes moved in a long file like a cautious squadron of German cavalry: at length night came on us in a wood, and we were very glad, for we could gallop no longer in such a place. The horses of the country are a surprising race of animals;—nothing can be more miserable than their appearance, yet nothing can exceed their speed and perseverance. They set out in the morning in a gallop, and continue it sometimes the whole day, with scarcely any rest or food. At night they get some chopped straw, which appears to have about as much nutrition as carpenters' shavings, and the next day they are ready for the same exertion. Sometimes they go day and night with Tartar despatches: thousands of the poor creatures are killed every year, but they die as they lived, in a gallop.

We arrived this night at a Turkish town called Sabandgee, near a large lake; and, as we were too late to get a conak, we were obliged to content ourselves with a khan. Here, in a room over the stable, which, in an English inn, would be the hayloft, but, in Turkey, having no hay, they need no such place, we took up our comfortless abode. They give

no refreshment in these khans, which are like "good dry lodgings" in Ireland, but much worse, as they give no beds either; however, we managed as well as people can who are obliged to fast on a bare floor, and with no other accommodation than they bring with them. While despatching our supper, a poor Greek climbed to our loft, and having heard that we had the Scriptures in his own language to distribute, expressed himself highly delighted with the prospect of his countrymen acquiring them. There was a population, he said, of 1000 Greeks in a village at some distance, to whom they would be of inestimable value. He drew from his bosom, where he had concealed it, a Testament printed at Venice; and, though it was in ancient Greek, which he imperfectly read, he prized it so highly, that he had it bound in red morocco and richly gilt, willing, as he said, to do every honour in his power to such a precious book. Mr. Leeves gave him a copy of one in Romaic, which he declared he would carry to his countrymen, who would consider the Scriptures thus sent to them in their own language as a second Evangelism, as he expressed himself,—glad tidings almost as important as the first.

The next morning we set out at daylight. We found ourselves in an elevated valley, embosomed in higher hills, with a magnificent lake below us. The hills were clothed with trees of an infinite variety of foliage, covered with fruit or flowers, —chestnut, walnut, plum, cherry, fig, apple, quince, pear, and mespilus,—in such incredible profusion as to be sufficient to supply the whole population of England, yet here there was no one to gather them. You may think it an exaggeration to say that these fruit-trees formed large forest wood, but the luxuriance of vegetation in this country is such, that dwarf plants with us grow to the size of giants. About

mid-day we stopped at a Derven, or pass in the forest, where there is generally a small Turkish guard; attached to this was, as usual, a coffee-house, where we lighted our chiboques and had some coffee. The coffee-house was under the shade of a large tree, covered with yellow fruit, which, as I had not seen anything like it before, I was curious to ascertain. Against the stem of the tree I saw a very long hanging ladder, which I climbed up; and after ascending forty steps, each one foot perpendicular, I found I had not yet got so high as the middle of the tree. It was a cherry-tree, producing an immense profusion of fruit, of a beautiful transparent amber colour, and of the richest flavour. I brought down my hat full, and they sent us a basket full, for which we paid the value of about a penny to the man for the trouble of gathering. I took away with me some of the stones to try and propagate the kind at Constantinople, where it is unknown, as well on account of the delicious flavour of the fruit as the beauty and magnitude of the tree, which could not be less than 100 feet high. I also sent some to the Horticultural Society of London to try a similar experiment.

We now fell in with a large river, which had also a striking peculiarity of this curious country—the water was as white as milk. Herds of buffaloes had buried themselves in the mud, and their black heads appearing above the surface formed a curious contrast with the colour of the water. This was the river Sangarius, now Sakâriah, noticed by ancient geographers as one of the largest rivers in Asia Minor, and *ex inclytis* one of the most celebrated. I cannot find, however, that any of them have mentioned this singularity of its stream, which does not resemble their golden Pactolus, but the waters were literally as pure, white, and opaque as milk. The Turks very properly call it "Ak

sou," or white water. We at first supposed the hue might be occasioned by the solution of the snow in the mountains where it takes its rise; but we afterwards found that rivers augmented by dissolved snow were not so coloured. It passes across Bithynia, and divides it, as to length, into two equal parts. On the east side it is mountainous, and abounds in magnificent forests. The river is about 600 feet wide.

Having pursued the course of this river for several miles, we came to one of those *pylæ* so celebrated formerly in the East. Pylæ literally mean gates, and they were the great fortifications by which the entrances into countries were defended. The mountains here approached so close to the river at each side, that we conjectured Hannibal had availed himself of the situation to defend his friend and host Prusias from the invasion of the Romans, though the pusillanimous king made but a bad return to his illustrious guest. From the face of the rock on each side to the edge of the water are the remains of two immense walls, parallel to each other, and with a space of ten feet between. On both were the ruins of ponderous arches, intended for gateways; so that no pass was left but through them, between the precipice and the bed of the river, which is here very deep, wide, and rapid. The present solitude and magnificence of the scenery, with these remains of ancient times connected with such an interesting period of history, makes this place an object of great curiosity, though, as no modern traveller has taken exactly this route, I do not find it noticed in any book of travels. About sunset we came to another pass which was not fortified, and here we crossed the river on a raft and emerged from this great valley, having travelled for thirty miles through a forest of fruit-trees without the smallest interruption. This valley is

perhaps one of the richest and most beautiful in the world. The mountains approached and receded in the most curious and picturesque manner—sometimes narrowing the pass so as almost to exclude the light, and sometimes expanding into pastoral lawns and glades. The sides were clothed with the noblest trees, displaying a vast variety of shapes and foliage, from which the rugged summits of the mountains ascended in broken ridges and splintered pinnacles, and frequently rent across into deep ravines. The trees, in general, were not less useful than ornamental. They consisted of fruit-bearing kinds, all of immense size, and were either in fruit or blossom. The chestnut particularly was clothed in long spikes of white flowers in such abundance as to chequer the whole face of the hills. To these were added oaks of several kinds, platanus, poplars, and downy lime-trees, giving shades of six different degrees of green and other vivid hues, in as great a variety as all the fading and changing tints of our autumnal forests. This is a detached portion of that almost illimitable forest which the Turks call "The Ocean of Trees." It extends from the other side of the Sangarius to the confines of the ancient Galatia, covering a surface of 180 miles in circumference.

After passing villages where we could procure no food, and miserable khans where we could get no rest, we at length arrived at a town called Lefkeh, where we were more fortunate. Here the Muzzelim conacked us at his own palace; and for the first time we were admitted to the inside of a Turkish house. As it does not fall to every traveller's lot to pass the night in a Turkish family, you may be curious to know how we were entertained. We were shown into a large room with a divan or sofa continued all round the walls, and here we stretched ourselves. They brought us the usual entertainment of pipes and coffee, and after some

time the Muzzelim's son and his uncle entered the room, seated themselves on the divan opposite, and smoked their pipes without saying a word. After passing an hour in this silent way, preparations were made for supper. The young man stood up, took a cloth from a servant, and with a dexterous fling spread it in a circle on the floor; in the centre of this he placed a joint stool, and on the stool a large metal tray. We were now motioned to approach, and having sat cross-legged on the floor round the stool, we drew the skirts of the cloth over our knees, while servants brought embroidered napkins and laid one on each of our shoulders. When all the company were seated, including our Janissary, the first dish was brought in and laid on the tray; round the edge of the tray were placed long slices of brown bread, with a horn spoon between each so as to project over and form a complete border, and in the middle was set a large pewter basin of peas-soup: having all dipped in our spoons and taken a few mouthfuls, it was removed, and immediately succeeded by another filled with sausages. Into this the Muzzelim's son dipped his hand, and we all followed his example. This was also removed, and replaced by one of youart, a kind of sour milk, with balls of forced-meat floating in it; next succeeded balls of meat wrapped up in vine leaves, then mutton boiled to rags on homos *, a kind of pea like a ram's head, which they are very fond of in this country—and last, a pilaff, or dish of boiled rice, with which all Turkish entertainments conclude. A glass of pure water was handed round, of which we all drank, and then followed servants with a ewer and basin, in which we washed. The whole apparatus was now removed, and we resumed our pipes and seats on the divan, having dispatched our supper with such silent celerity, that the whole occupied

* Cicer arietinum.

but nine minutes and a half! Our entertainer may be considered as a Turkish Lord Mayor of a town. An English Lord Mayor does not entertain his friends after so frugal a fashion—a dinner of nine minutes and a half, and a glass of water!

As we had brought apparatus with us, we now procured some hot water, and entertained our hosts with a cup of tea, which they had heard of, but never tasted. We sweetened a cup in the most approved manner with sugar, and softened it with milk, and then presented it. A Turk never takes anything of this kind but coffee, without milk or sugar, which is as black, thick, and bitter as soot; when, therefore, he filled his mouth with the mawkish mixture we made for him, his distress was quite ridiculous. He could not swallow it, and he would not spit it out, for a Turk never spits in company—so he kept it churning in his mouth, till he could keep it no longer. He then made a pretext for going out, which he did as fast as a Turk can move, and got rid of it over the stairs. When he returned, however, he said the ladies of the Harem requested to taste our tea also, so we sent them in a specimen; we heard them burst into loud fits of laughing at the extraordinary stuff, and we were informed they liked it as little as the men: we sent them, however, a present of dry tea, to make after their own fashion of coffee. Our bed and bed-chamber were the divan and room where we sat, so in due time we stretched ourselves to sleep. Early the next morning we were awoke by the sound of some sweet bells, very unusual in a Turkish town. On looking out at the window, I perceived it to be a large caravan proceeding to Aleppo, and the bells were those worn by the camels. The gait of the animals, slow and measured, caused them to toll in a pensive but very musical cadence, and the whole long procession was truly picturesque and

oriental. We left the house of our taciturn but simple and civil Turks, who were up to take leave of us, and proceeded on our journey to Nicæa.

We were scarcely out of the town, when we encountered a number of horsemen scattered over the plain, and driving with the most desperate speed. Our Janissary called on us with the greatest earnestness to get out of the way—he had good reason, for, as we afterwards found, if we had stopped any of them, they would not hesitate to draw a pistol and shoot us. It was now the conclusion of the great Turkish Bairam, when all the Pashas are appointed over the Turkish empire for one, two, or three years. Several thousand horses are always kept ready saddled and bridled at Constantinople, and the moment the nominations are made out at the Porte, Tartar couriers mount, dash off at the top of their speed, and bear them to the most distant parts of Asia. From 2000 to 3000 Tartars are thus dispatched every year at nearly the same moment from the capital. These fellows that we met, carried with them either the appointment of new Pashas, or the deposition or confirmation of old ones—in either case those who first arrived were liberally rewarded; and as the dispatch was intrusted sometimes to two or three, there was a contest who should be foremost, and the same Tartar that brought the appointment of one Pasha, often returned with the head of another. These harbingers of life and death, therefore, drive along like the Fates and Furies. If their unfortunate horses sink under any of them, as they constantly do, they dismount the next travellers they meet, and pursue on their cattle their journey day and night, till their object is accomplished. In the course of the morning we met more than fifty of these fellows, driving along with the most desperate speed.

From hence we ascended a steep pass through a chain of

ridges, and having descended at the other side, we found ourselves in a large plain surrounded by hills; at one end was a very extensive lake, and on the shores of the lake a large and magnificent city. We stopped at a distance to admire the beauty of the scene. The walls of the city were eight miles in circumference, with parapets, and battlements, and high towers. We approached the gates next us by a fine aqueduct, which conveyed a river of pure water on arches into the walls. The entrance was by three gates, one inside the other, ornamented with marble figures in sculptured relief. The centre, or second gate was of magnificent size and workmanship, with frieze, cornices, and all the ornaments which mark the pure age of architecture, and in perfect order and preservation. Over the gate on the frieze was an inscription in brazen letters, intimating that it had been erected by the Emperor Adrian; and the whole exterior had the appearance of being a rich, large, and populous city, far exceeding anything we had seen in all the east, either in Europe or Asia. We were at first surprised that we met no one going in or out, as is usual in a large town; but when we passed the inside gate, our astonishment cannot be expressed. There was neither street, nor house, nor inhabitant, nor the remains of such things; the whole space inside these extensive and magnificent walls was a wide, desolate field, as far as the eye could reach, as if the earth had opened and closed over the houses and inhabitants, and left the walls of the city perfect and uninjured. After wandering about this dreary plain for some time, we at length came to a few Greek houses in a corner of the walls, and in one of them we conacked.

We were now in the famous city of Nicæa, or, as it is at present called, Isnik. The town was originally named Antigonia, from Antigonus, son of Philip of Macedon, who built it, and it was contemporary with the

numerous Greek cities erected about that time by Alexander and his enterprising captains. The name was changed shortly after to Nicæa, in honour of the daughter of Lysimachus. It is surrounded on the south and east by mountains that are distant about three miles. The approach is through a plain of exceeding richness and beauty*—which extends in length for a considerable space. At one extremity is the Lake of Ascanius, expanding in various branches into the recesses of the hills, which screen it on three sides, with some wooded promontories projecting into it, giving it a highly picturesque character, not so sublime, but full as beautiful and more extensive than any of the lakes of Cumberland. Between this picturesque lake and this fertile valley stands the town of Nicæa, on the edge of the water, slumbering in solitary magnificence, and now silent and desolate as Tadmor in the Desert. The walls are twenty-five feet high and fourteen feet thick at the base, having round or elliptic towers at small intervals along the whole extent. They are still so perfect and undecayed, that we found a broad walk between the parapets, and continued in an uninterrupted course round the city. Along this we pursued our way, looking down on the enclosure below, where nothing presented itself to our view but an immense empty space, in which not a trace or vestige of the streets or magnificent edifices that once filled it was to be seen.

Such depopulation of ancient cities is very common in the Turkish empire; but this is perhaps the only city in the world where the walls remain nearly as perfect and entire as when they were raised, and the edifices which they enclosed have totally disappeared. The only traces we could discover of any remnant of an ancient building, were large fragments of solid masonry near the middle of the area, but

* The beauty of this plain is mentioned by Strabo, who calls it πεδίον μέγα καὶ σφόδρα εὐδαίμον. Lib. xii.

so misshapen, as to afford no grounds even for conjecture to what they had belonged. The stones comprising them were solid blocks of twelve or fourteen feet in length, and laid together without any cement. They were generally marked with monograms, in which the letter K was frequent. One of them was C A K, probably the initials of Cεβαστος Αυτοκρατωρ Κωνσταντινος. A tradition existed, that this was a remnant of the palace in which he held the council, and the letters of his name on the stones rendered it probable.

The only other architectural remains here that had any claim to antiquity was a small chapel, in which the Greek population of the little village had service performed. The exterior is modern, but the body belongs to the first ages of Christianity. On the wall of this chapel and on the ceiling was tracery of mosaic in small cubic blocks of red and gilded glass, resembling that in the church of Santa Sophia. In this were figures and inscriptions worked like embroidery, in which the word Κωνσταντινος often occurred. Of these, two were more distinct than the rest. One in the pronaos, or porch, represented a virgin and child in the centre, on the left a female, and on the right, a man holding a labarum, exactly similar to that on the coins of Constantine, with an inscription, of which the following part was legible—

ΑΝΑΞΚΡΑΤΑΙΟC
ΔΕCΠΟΤΕCΚΩΝCΤΑΝ
ΜΟΙΗΝΠΡΟΝΟΙΑCΑΞΙ
ΩΝΤΗΝΕΝΘΑΔΕ
ΔΩΡΟΝΔΙΔΟCΙΕΥ
ΚΛΕΕΙΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩ
ΒΩΛ- - - - - -

The other was on the ceiling of the agiobema, or place behind the altar, of which the following is a representation,

probably intended for the Angels adoring the Child. It is remarkable that the Angels are designated as if they were the artificers of nature, a function which some heretic sects of that day assigned them.

The place in which we were could not but remind us of the events so important to the Christian church which occurred here. The disputes of the Arian heresy had begun to disturb it, and the first Christian Emperor determined to put an end to them, and collect together for the first time * all the heads of the church of the vast Roman empire, which now extended over a great part of the civilized world. To this end summonses were issued, and in the year of our Lord 315, they assembled from Asia, Africa, and Europe, to this grand synod. There came together on this occasion three hundred and seventy-six bishops, besides a vast crowd of presbyters, deacons, and akolouths. Among

* It is by some considered, however, that the *first* General or Œcumenic Council was that held at Jerusalem to discuss the question of Circumcision, when "the Apostles and Elders came together to consider of this matter."—Acts xv. 6.

them were several distinguished by their talents. Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch; Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria; Spiridion, Bishop of Cyprus; and the venerable Paphnutius, Bishop of Thebaid, who had been maimed and deprived of his eyes in the persecution of Maximian; but having survived the inflictions, he had now come a mutilated spectacle to this assembly, to raise his voice in the cause of that truth, for which he had unshrinkingly suffered such tortures. Besides these there were Eusebius, the learned Bishop of Nicomedia, Theognes of Nicæa, and Mores of Chalcedon, who were strongly embued with the doctrines of Arius.

When this numerous and venerable body of ecclesiastics had assembled in the immense hall in the interior of the palace, the Emperor entered, clad in purple and gold, and sat on a golden throne, at the upper end. The bishops ranged themselves on benches at each side, and the rest of the assembly filled the space below, when the controversy began.

Eusebius first addressed the Emperor in Greek, in a florid speech, and he replied in Latin, exhorting the assembly to remove all cause of future disputation, by a reference to the authority of the Scriptures themselves. A work of Eusebius was then read, in which the divinity of Christ was denied, by asserting that he was not of the same substance as the Father. The effect of this upon the assembly was very strong. They first stopped their ears that they might not hear; they then burst out into exclamations of horror at the blasphemy it was supposed to contain, and finally the book was seized on and torn to pieces before all the people, and in the presence of Eusebius himself.

A very severe and turbulent controversy now ensued between the supporters of their respective opinions, in which the Emperor was obliged to interpose frequently, imploring them to observe temperance and moderation. At length

the opponents of Arius prevailed, and a symbol was drawn up, containing the heads of the most important doctrines of Christianity, in which the ομοουσιον was inserted, declaring the identity of the substance of the Father and the Son. This formula, which we now call the Nicene Creed, and which we read after the Communion Service of our churches, was subscribed by all present, and among the rest by Eusebius and his adherents. A decree of the Emperor condemned the Arians, under the name of Porphyrians, and threatened the punishment of death to every person with whom any of the heretical books of Arius might be found.

Nor was this the only important discussion which took place at this synod. A controversy existed about the period of celebrating Easter—some affirming that it should be observed at the time of the Jewish Passover; but it was decided that the festival should be kept, not on that particular day, but on the Lord's day next following it—as Sunday, or the first day of the week, was that on which Christ (sacrificed as the Christian's Passover) was raised from the dead, and so it is now observed in every part of the Christian church.

Another question of debate was a very important one, and the decision deeply interesting to the Reformation—whether any man who was married and had taken priest's orders should retain his wife after ordination. It was proposed that he should separate from her; but this, which Socrates calls a "new law," was not carried. Paphnutius, who was himself an unmarried and a continent man, exclaimed that marriage was honourable in all, and those whom God had joined no man should put asunder. It was therefore decreed that married persons should retain their wives after ordination; but that single men should not contract matrimony after they became priests, and so it has continued to this

day among the secular clergy of the Greek church. The priest of the small congregation here had availed himself of this decision of the council. We found him a married man, were introduced to his wife, and consulted about the health of his daughter. It was during the discussion of this question that Constantine himself made the extraordinary declaration, that the errors of a clergy condemned to celibacy ought to be concealed, so that no scandal might be brought upon the church *.

After an interval of more than 400 years a second Œcumenic Council was called here to settle another dispute, which had also shaken the whole Christian church. The worship of images had been carried to such an excess, that a general feeling was manifested against it, as inconsistent with the commands of God; and the Emperor Leo Isaurus, availing himself of public opinion, issued a decree against it in 726, and a sect called Iconoclasts, or image-breakers, went about everywhere destroying them. The example of Leo was followed by his son Constantine V., whom the Latin writers abuse by calling him several opprobrious names, Copronimus, Caballinus, and others, for certain propensities in his infancy, which they considered ominous of his future defilement of the church. When Constantine VI., however, came to the throne, he was instigated by his mother Irene to re-establish image-worship, and to this end he called another general council at Nicæa, in 787. There assembled on this occasion three hundred and fifty bishops, and they decreed that sacred representations of the Cross of Christ, of the Mother of God, and of angels and holy men, should be replaced on vestments and vases, and be exhibited in

* Si suis oculis Episcopum alienæ uxori struprum inferre forte videret, facinus illud nefandum suo paludamento se obtecturum.—Baron. An. 325. xvi.

pictures, but the letter of the Decalogue was observed in excluding graven images, which is still rigidly observed in the Greek churches. It was impossible that we could look with indifference on these decisions of the early councils of the primitive church, on the spot where they were decreed.

From the time of those important councils, Nicæa continued to be not only a celebrated, but also a large and populous city, till the invasion of the Greek empire by the Latin crusaders. It was then besieged and taken, and became the centre and capital of a dynasty established by the Lascaris family, and so continued till the expulsion of the Latins and the invasion of the Turks. Even so late as the year 1677, it was a flourishing and populous town. It then contained a population of 10,000 Christian Greeks, and many precious remains of antiquity to attest its former splendour. But the desolating hand of the Turks has since effaced every trace of this, and it is a subject of melancholy contemplation now to behold it, the shadowy phantom of a magnificent city, on a beautiful and fertile spot, where bountiful nature has provided everything necessary for human life; an extensive plain exuberant with fertility, sloping lawns verdant with pasture, wooded hills covered with the finest timber, expanded waters teeming with fish, and a climate the most bland and delicious that ever refreshed a mortal frame. Yet here human life is actually extinguished, human habitations totally obliterated, and the solitude rendered more striking by the irrefragable testimonies of its former splendour, and the visible evidences of what it recently was and what it still might be.

In a corner of this solitary city where we conacked: the humble Greek family with whom we took up our abode gained a livelihood by feeding silk-worms, and the greater part of their house was full of them. A small part of the

area within the walls of the town was devoted to mulberry-trees to feed them, and a few patches more to raising tobacco, which was struggling up through rubbish and broken tiles. We passed three or four days in this vacuity in endeavouring to make out some remnants of inscriptions still to be seen on the town walls and half-buried stones among the scanty crops. This employment we varied by bathing every morning in the lake, and afterwards dining on the finest carp and tench, which we took out of it, and which are so abundant, that they can almost be caught by stretching out the hand. Our last day was Sunday, which we observed by performing the service of the Protestant church, perhaps for the first time that it ever was celebrated at Nicæa and repeating in the church the Creed, on the very spot where it was composed. The next morning at daylight we left this most interesting but melancholy spot, where there is a lovely and fertile plain fifteen miles long, and no one to cultivate it, a lake like an inland sea, full of fish, and no one to eat them, and the magnificent walls of a city more than eight miles in circumference, and no one to inhabit it.

CHAPTER VII.

Yeni Shehr—Rigid Morality—Surface of Asia Minor—Young Locusts—Opium Harvest—Excessive indulgence not injurious—Silk Worms—Mode of Hatching and Rearing—Mount Olympus—Splendid Appearance—Rivers of dissolved Snow—Aspect of Brusa—Past and Present State—Visit to Muzzelim—Inconvenience of assuming Consequence—Greek Family—Neapolitan Doctor—Bishop of Brusa—Hot Baths—Process of Bathing—Intense Heat of the Spring—Ingredients of Water—Ancient Acropolis—Hannibal's Fortress—Tomb of Orchan—Ascent of Mount Olympus—Various Regions—Elevated Plain—Trout Streams—Snowy Peak—Singular and beautiful Vegetation—Seats of the Gods—Extensive View—Moodania—Horrid Khan—Dangerous Storm.

On leaving Nicæa we stood much upon our consequence: our Janissary had represented us as being greater people than the Muzzelim himself. Notwithstanding this, the Menzilgee supplied us with only thirteen horses, that is, one less than our complement. This was no great inconvenience, as it was only a Yedek, or led horse, which we never used: we would not, however, stir till we had got this appendage to our rank, which was at length sent, with an apology for the delay, and we departed. From the town our way lay over the side of one of the hills which bounded the lake, which we ascended by a winding path; it was covered with arbutus, myrtle, and other aromatic shrubs, and the varying views of the lake as we wound our way through them were very beautiful. On the summit of a hill we arrived at another Derven pass, where we found a coffee-house and Turkish guard, and from hence descended into a highly cultivated plain, and arrived in the evening at Yeni Shehr, containing about 200 Turkish and 60 Armenian houses; and here we were witness to the rigid morality of this part of Asia.

We met as we entered the town several men led as prisoners by a guard, and we soon learned the cause. An unfortunate Greek woman had arrived here a short time before, and was found out to be a person of loose character. The Cadi had her closely watched, and it was discovered that men had secretly visited her. Eight Turks and Armenians were seized and sent off to Brusa in chains, who were the culprits we had seen; nor did the vengeance against violated morality stop here. All those who resided in the neighbourhood of the house were seized and severely bastinadoed, because it was supposed they were or might be cognizant of the fact, and did not denounce it to the proper authorities. The wretched woman, as the *causa teterrima* of all, was in custody waiting her fate. The Koran enjoins that the parties offending, if convicted by four witnesses, shall be imprisoned in separate apartments till death relieve them*. They talked of more summary vengeance against this unfortunate Greek delinquent; and there was a rumour before we left, that she would be sacked and drowned in the adjoining river.

On leaving the town next morning, the Tartar, before we were mounted, shouted with his usual barbarous exultation, "Haidé Baccallum," and the horses, used to the sound, started off, while yet I had my foot in the stirrup. The whole cavalcade nearly rode over me in the narrow street, but I escaped with a crushed leg. I was now as little able as inclined to proceed at our usual rate under a burning sun, and I thought passing many interesting objects without staying a moment to examine them not altogether compensated by the silly gratification of exhibiting

* Chap. 4.—In the 24th chap., the parties are to be punished with 100 stripes before the witness of some true believers, and no compassion is to interfere with the judgment of God.

my consequence before a gaping Turk, and so I retained with me a servant and a surrogee, and taking my awkward and ponderous saddle to pieces, I left the wooden part on the road for the next Turk who chose to avail himself of it, and reserved only the pad; and with this humble, though more comfortable equipment, I jogged on at the rate of three miles an hour, while my companions, with the Janissary, set off, *à la Tartare*, and swept along as usual, at the rate of six. I now examined things at my leisure, got off to gather a curious plant, and stopped to copy an inscription.

Our way lay through an extensive plain. The face of Asia Minor here is formed of long chains of hills or single mountains, and between them flat rich levels; there is nothing like the undulations of the ground in Europe, but it is either perpendicular or horizontal. I saw a part of the surface of this plain at a distance, moving like waves in an extraordinary manner. On coming to the place, I perceived it was caused by insects; and on alighting to examine them, I found them young locusts. The year before, a flight had passed here and deposited their eggs, which had just now been hatched by the heat of the sun, and the larvæ covered the ground in incredible numbers. The whole surface, for an area of two miles in circumference, was hidden with them. Their wings were not yet grown; they could only spring, which they did with a perpetual motion. The mass in some places ascended as high as the saddle girths, and I felt a resistance to my feet in passing through them, as if I was fording a river. I had no definite notion before of the wonderful fecundity of insect nature, nor of the ravages they were capable of committing, till I saw them afterwards in an adult state, when they moved to another place.

Having passed the plain of locusts, I came to a plain of poppies. The greatest part of the opium used in Europe is

brought from this place, and poppies are everywhere cultivated. It was now just the opium harvest, and the people were all in the fields gathering it. I went in among them and saw the process, which is very simple. When the flower falls off and the capsule or seed-vessel is formed, they go in the evening into the plantation, and with a hooked knife they make a circular incision round the capsule; from this there exudes a white milky juice, which being exposed next day to the heat of the sun, concretes into a dark brown mass, which is the crude opium of our shops. On the next and several succeeding evenings they come and scrape this off, as long as the plant continues to exude it: this is called by the Turks *measlac*, and by the Greeks ὄπον, which literally signifies juice, and hence our name of opium. The opium sent to Europe is always adulterated. They boil down the poppy heads with other narcotic plants, and having inspissated the juice, wrap it up in poppy leaves, and so send the impure mass in cakes for our use. The pure *measlac*, gathered as I saw it, they generally keep for their own use, when they intend to make kef. The word kef implies an undefinable sensation of pleasure, and so is intranslatable. When a Turk wishes to produce it, he takes a drachm of opium as an Irishman takes a dram of whiskey; he then adds a drink of water, and, throwing himself on his divan, he is in a few minutes rapt in Elysium. The effects, as described by De Tott, are here unknown, though perhaps the use is as general as ever. Indeed our host at Yeni Shehr had affirmed, that as the people were prohibited the use of saraf and raki (wine and spirits), it was but reasonable they should indulge in something else; and he informed us of one boy who took a Turkish drachm every hour without any apparent injury, a quantity which no European constitution could bear; and if his report be

true, there must be something in the constitution of an Asiatic Turk which resists its deleterious effects. The people here, who use it to what we should consider a fearful excess, are certainly a remarkably healthy, well-looking race.

Besides opium, this is the great country of silk; and among the poppy-fields were everywhere plantations of mulberries for the silkworms. In some villages where we stopped, we could not be accommodated because all the houses, even the bed-rooms, were filled with silkworms. I could not conceive how this could be, till I saw the process, and heard its details. In March or April the silkworms' eggs are brought and sold in the markets of Brusa and other places. Here the women come and purchase a drachm, or more, according to their means. These they wrap in cloth and lay in their bosoms, or under their arm-pits, where the warmth in a few days hatches them. They then strew the floor of their rooms with mulberry branches, and lay the young worms on them, first on a linen cloth, nourishing them with the tender short leaves cut with scissars; then, as they increase in size, on the branches themselves, feeding them with the larger leaves. As they are very voracious, they require fresh branches every day, which are laid over the old ones; into these the worms ascend after they have devoured all the leaves below, and thus the pile rises to near the ceiling. At the end of ten or twelve days they appear to fall asleep, and continue so for three or four, when they awake and begin to eat again; and thus they continue sleeping and eating for about six weeks, when they begin to climb. The quantity of leaves consumed by the insects which issue from a drachm of eggs amounts to four great packages. Dried oak branches, which are trimmed and prepared for the purpose of this new operation, are stuck perpendicularly into the top of the pile. Into these the worms now climb; and, attaching

themselves to the leaves and branches, spin their silken cones in which they undergo their wonderful change. Those cones intended for use are taken and exposed on a cloth to the heat of the sun, which in a few days destroys the principle of life in the animal inside. Those intended for seed are suffered to remain for twenty days, when they are laid on a cloth, on which the moth, which comes forth, lays its eggs and dies. These eggs are preserved in a cool place till the next spring, when they are hatched.

The plain was terminated by a gorge, through which was indistinctly seen the great contour of Mount Olympus. I rode along the side of a low ridge of hills which seemed branching from the base of it, and having passed the gorge, arrived at the village of Tymbro, on the summit of a low hill, from whence the uninterrupted view of the mountain burst upon me, with great magnificence. Round its summit lay large masses of undissolved snow, from which the sunbeams were strongly reflected, and formed an object so clear and distinct on the blue sky, that it seemed almost within the reach of my hand to touch it. Among the several mountains called by the ancients by this name, I think it probable that this, in the immediate vicinity of the plains of Troy, was the one intended by Homer, though that in Macedonia is the one usually assigned. The appellation of Olympus seemed to be given to every mountain that formed a particularly bright and conspicuous object,* and certainly nothing could be more agreeable to the name than the splendid appearance it now presented. Pope gives it the epithet of "cloudy" which Homer does not, and it must strike a spectator who views the place how very inappropriate it is. The epithet in the original, which he thus

* Quasi ολος, totus, et λαμπω, lucco. Schol.

translates, is "many-necked,"* peculiarly descriptive of the actual object. The vast contour branched out into a variety of ridges from which issued the single "summit" on which Jupiter called the council of the gods, and from which he inhibited them from entering the field of battle just below them. This also presented that "prominence" to which he proposed to bind the chain suspending from it the nether world.† If poets take their descriptions from natural objects, as Homer is supposed to have done, it struck me that here was everything of resemblance and locality at this day to identify them.

I now descended to the other side, and having entered the lower regions along the base of the ridge, the heat suddenly became intense and insupportable, a burning sun above, and not a breath of air below. While panting and sinking under the intolerable oppression, we were suddenly relieved by the most agreeable sight. As the snow dissolved on the mountain, a thousand rills came trickling down the sides, glittering and gurgling, everywhere crossing our path, cooling the air, and refreshing our senses till we entered the magnificent plain of Brusa. It was terminated at one end by a lake, the shores of which were highly wooded and cultivated as far as the eye could reach. On the right hand lay this beautiful plain and on the left the ridges of Olympus, pouring down their limpid currents, one of which was so full and strong at this burning and arid season, that it reached to the girths of the horses, so that by a good providence it appears that, as the heat increases, the snow is dissolved, and the plain refreshed by the solution. It was

* Ἀκροτάτη κορυφὴ πολυδειράδος Ὀλυμπου. Il. viii. 3.

† Δειρὴν μὲν κὲν ἔπειτα περὶ ῥίον Ὀλύμποιο
Δησαίμην. Il. viii. 25.

quite delightful to plunge the hand in this refrigerating fluid; it seemed to have acquired no accession of heat by its descent, but felt as cold as if it was still in a state of congelation on the mountains. We now passed a noble wood of walnuts which had attained to a gigantic size, the more conspicuous as there was no underwood to interrupt the view. Through this was scattered a numerous caravan of camels and buffaloes reposing in the shade, to the sweet but drowsy tinkling of the bells which the animals carried. From hence we ascended by the bed of one of the streams to the city of Brusa.

My companions had arrived some time before me, and I found them established in a khan with a worthy Armenian silk-merchant from Aleppo. The khans of Brusa are much superior to those of other places. They consist of a large quadrangle, the area of which is planted with trees, and in the centre is a fountain, continually spouting water: round this pleasant place are apartments, neatly fitted up, occupied by rich merchants, with the family of one of whom we were domesticated. I had heard much of this Asiatic capital of the Turks, but the reality far exceeded the picture of my imagination. Conceive a city on the side of a mountain, embosomed in a forest, having one of the richest plains in nature before it, and a vast ridge of snow behind it: conceive this snow continually dissolving, and sending down innumerable streams of the purest water through every street in the town; conceive not only the mosques and public buildings, but every coffee-house and barber's-shop supplied with a marble fountain, spouting this crystal water, cold and clear, in a climate where the heat in summer is 96°; conceive this water, after thus refreshing the town, meandering in ten thousand rills in the plains below, and giving it the richest verdure and luxuriance when every other plain is

burnt up; conceive besides these rivers of cold, fountains of hot water bursting everywhere from the sides of the mountain; conceive these fountains of hot water turned into noble reservoirs under colonnades and domes of marble, forming the most magnificent hot baths in the world; and conceive a population of Turks, whose religion consists in ablutions, making this place the capital of their empire in Asia, and covering the face of the hill with mosques and minarets, and you will have a general idea of Brusa.

This celebrated city was built, as Pliny says, by Hannibal* for his host Prusias, about 220 years before the birth of Christ, and called after the name of the worthless king of Bithynia, of which the present name of Bursa or Brusa is evidently a corruption. It was here the Gauls were afterwards defeated, but it is remarkable that historians make no mention of this city as existing at the time. It was taken, however, by the Lieutenants of Lucullus in the Mithridatic war, and continued an appendage to the Roman power and the Greek empire till the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders, when it was seized, with other towns in Bithynia, by Lascaris. As soon as the Turks began to expand themselves in this region, they laid siege to this city and compelled it by famine to surrender in 1327, when Othman made it the capital of the infant Turkish empire. Among the uses to which he converted the noble and fertile plain of the city, was the pasturage of numerous herds and flocks, the Turks still retaining their nomadic character. Multitudes were still on the plain, and we were told they were the property of the Sultan at Constantinople, and the lineal descendants of those that Othman had located there. Brusa continued to be the capital till the Turks pushed their conquests

* A Cio intus in Bithynia Prusa ab Annibale sub Olympo condita.—Plin. lib. v. 32.

beyond the Hellespont and established themselves in Europe, and finally transferred the seat of government to the capital of the Greek empire. It is still, however, a famed residence, and perhaps increased in splendour and opulence far beyond the simple state in which it was left at that period of Turkish history. Its circumference is estimated at nearly eight miles. It contains a population of 75,000 people, of which 9000 are Greek and Armenian Christians, and 1800 Jews. The most striking objects of the town are the mosques, the minarets of which bristle over the face of the hill in a very striking manner. So numerous did they appear, that Tournefort calculated the number at 300. I made inquiries and found they amounted to 180, which in some points of view can all be seen at once, and are sufficient to give the town a curious and characteristic appearance, without any exaggeration. The Greeks have only two churches and the Armenians one, with a school taught on the Lancasterian system, containing 100 boys. The Jews have two synagogues, but lie under an extraordinary prohibition to which no other sect is liable: they are not allowed to feed silkworms nor enter a particular bath which is open to all the rest. I could not learn the origin of this curious exclusion. The great staple of the country is silk, and rearing the worms and manufacturing the fabric the great employment of the people. The cultivation of mulberry-trees for this purpose engages a number of nurseries in the plain. They plant out seedlings in September, and so rapid is vegetation, that they are of a reasonable size in November. They are then transplanted, and when they attain the age of two years, are brought to the Priuch Khan on certain days and sold to the rearers of worms, who plant them out for food.

When we had established ourselves at our khan, our first visit was to the Muzzelim. We sent to apprize him of our

intention, and we were informed he would see us at five when he came forth from his harem. At that hour we repaired to the palace, and here we experienced the inconvenience of assuming state and rank. One of our party had adopted the Turkish dress, and our Tartar represented him as a Padisha, the son of a king, and us Europeans as Milordis Ingelis, persons of not inferior consequence. The attendants therefore at the palace thought themselves entitled to a proportionable bakshish, and when they received only the usual mite, nothing could exceed their anger and disappointment. After a violent altercation in Arabic, we escaped into the palace and left our Tartar in their hands to be dealt with as they thought fit for his boasting. The pomp and state of this place was in accordance with its former consequence. After waiting for some time among a crowd of officers, we at length heard the loud voice of a herald proclaiming, for the information of all Brusa, that his highness, whom God preserve, had left his harem. There was now a general rush and commotion through the hall, and at length the Muzzelim entered and placed himself on the divan. He was a remarkably handsome man, robust, and dignified, with more of Oriental assumption than we had seen before. He received us, however, with friendly condescension and assigned us his chouashes to conduct us where we pleased through the city. On issuing from the audience we found our Tartar still in durance and altercation. We thought to escape, but were mistaken. A party headed by a large black-looking Turk, armed with a large club, pursued us, and seemed disposed to proceed to violence, to compel us to support our dignity as we ought; nor was it till he extracted from us twenty piastres more that we could extricate ourselves. The pride of our Tartar, however, was so deeply wounded for our letting down his dignity, and not

paying in proportion to his boasts, that he remained silent and sulky for two days.

In the evening we visited the family of a Greek gentleman. In the centre of an open apartments, supported by pillars, was a marble fountain of very cold and limpid water, thrown up with a continued bubbling. Over this was placed the table, round which the family sat at their evening meal, with their feet on the edge of the water which here performed the operation of cooling in summer, as the tandour does of warming in winter. The greatest inconvenience Brusa suffers is the intensity of the heat. Just before it had been so great, that the lead was melted on one of the mosques, and two imauhs had dropped dead on coming forth from it.

Our host was a remarkably corpulent man, of indefatigable good humour, and more than French vivacity. He sat cross-legged on the divan, with one little foot appearing, thrust out from under him; and when he told a good story he was all in action, his foot moving in unison with his tongue. Among the company was a Neapolitan doctor who had married a Greek lady. He wore a white hat, which our facetious host seized on, and putting his turban on the Doctor's head and the hat on his own, he sent his hat round to the company to exhibit themselves in it as an excellent joke. He then sang several songs which he insisted that we all should join in. Greek music is at best but miserable sounds, but this I thought the most discordant and intolerable I had yet heard. Notwithstanding this apparent levity and indifference to every thing but present enjoyment, he with all about him were deeply interested in the affairs of their countrymen. He came over several times, and sat beside us, inquiring anxiously about the probability of their success, and con-

vinced us how widely extended was the sympathy of every Greek, in the cause, be his situation ever so remote or his disposition ever so careless.

The Doctor, for whom he had a great regard, we found had been himself a suffering patriot. He had been concerned in revolutionary movements in Naples, and was obliged to fly when the Austrians had entered the city, and, like the patriots of old, had sought refuge in Asia among the barbarians. His talents soon recommended him to the Muzzelim, who appointed him his physician, and on all occasions he employed his influence with him for the benefit of those around him. I felt great sympathy and friendship for this worthy and intelligent man, who was here an exile, distinguished for those qualities which had led to his expulsion from his own country. He afterwards died of the plague, caught in attending a pestiferous patient, a very unusual exercise of professional duty.

After an abundance of refreshments of pipes, coffee, conserve of roses, wine, snow-water, plums, pudding, and sundry other good things which were handed round in ceaseless succession, we took leave of our friendly host at midnight, struck with the strong contrast in the same country between the lively and social Greeks and the taciturn and formal Turks, by whom we had been entertained a few evenings before.

We next morning proceeded to visit the Greek and Armenian bishops. We found the former sitting on his divan smoking, and we sat down familiarly beside him. He declared himself well inclined to circulate the scriptures in Romaic, and had already dispersed several copies sent to him through his diocese. He was, however, personally indisposed to and indeed incapable of any activity. Corpulent and enervated by the climate, he was a Turk in in-

dolence, smoked one half the day and slept the rest. We hoped he could inform us of many local circumstances of Nicæa, which is in his diocese, but in reply to our queries, he dispatched one of his chaplains for the Geography of Miletius, and turning to the place, read out the little that was there said of it, but knew no more. He sent his chaplains with us to visit his schools. We found two, in each of which were about thirty boys learning Romaic and Hellenic. One of them was reading Demosthenes, and we discovered here, as elsewhere, a disposition among the modern Greeks to revive the ancient language.

Returning to our khan we found horses ready to take us to the hot baths, so we set out, accompanied by our worthy Aleppine friend. Our way lay along a road over which, on one side, towered the battlements of the ancient city, mantled with ivy, and on the other was a noble view of the plain of Brusa just below us: every little coffee-house and barber's-shop had a kiosk attached to it where the people sat to enjoy the prospect. After a ride of two miles we arrived at Eski Kaplizza, or the old baths, which were standing when Othman laid siege to the city, and here were the head-quarters of his son Orchan. The baths were now in a state of great dilapidation and neglect.

About half a mile from them were the Jeni Kaplizza, one of the new and splendid edifices. We entered a large hall, round which sat or reclined on benches several persons undergoing different processes of the bath. We procured for ourselves a separate room and prepared for the enjoyment. A large shawl was spread before each of us as we sat on the divan, and in this were carefully deposited our clothes; it was then tied up at the corners and laid by. We next had a blue apron fastened round our waists, a napkin covered our shoulders, another was wrapt about our heads,

and our feet were thrust into wooden sandals. Thus equipped, we walked across the hall and entered the vestibule of the bath. This is a very large and lofty dome, paved and faced with polished marble. The air was considerably hotter than in the hall, but cooler than the water, and therefore was considered a good gradation of temperature, which an Oriental thinks essential to safety. The bath itself is a large circular marble basin, fifteen yards in circumference and five feet deep, with steps descending into it all round. It is supplied by a continued current of hot water, entering at one side and issuing at the other, so that it is constantly renewed. The temperature of the air filled with steam was nearly suffocating, and that of the water scarcely endurable; in a little time, however, we were quite accustomed to the sensation, and swam about in the noble basin with great pleasure. After remaining a quarter of an hour in the water, we were apprized by an attendant that our time was expired, and we removed to another room, the temperature of which was so comparatively cold, that we sat shivering like ghosts on the banks of the Styx, till our attendants came to rub us. We were led to certain recesses with small reservoirs in each, where we were laid on our backs, and a Turk as naked as ourselves, thrusting his hands into gloves without fingers, made of a very coarse stuff, continued to rub and champoo us till flakes of inspissated perspiration, like dough, peeled off from every part of our body.

After this operation we were again plunged in the bath, and on coming out, another Turk, with soap and a brush, beginning with our heads, immersed the whole body in a thick lather. He then took a large pewter vessel and continued to inundate us with nearly boiling water, till the suds passed all away, and we were so exhausted with heat and a sense

of suffocation that we nearly fainted. It was remarkable that habit had so accustomed the bodies of the operators to this temperature, that they were quite cool, and whenever their naked flesh touched our burning skin, it felt as cold and clammy as monumental marble. After this operation, we were reconducted to the divan where we had undressed, wrapped in coarse shawls and lay down to repose. Coffee and refreshments of lemonade and cold water were brought to us, and after reposing for half an hour we were finally rubbed dry, dressed, and dismissed quite cool and renovated, notwithstanding the very distressing debility which ensued during part of the operation. I have been more particular in detailing the process to you, because these are the most celebrated baths in the Turkish empire, and the great resort of all ranks for health or luxury.

From these we visited another establishment built on the model of the former, but on a more extensive and magnificent scale. In the centre of the dome is a large fountain of cold water, the dissolved snow of the mountain above, scattering its cool and limpid spray all around on those who chose to partake of the refreshment of this noble shower-bath. The whole edifice is lined with beautiful white marble, inlaid in various places with coloured mosaic. These baths would be, perhaps, the most remarkable monuments of Oriental magnificence in the world were they not deformed by the extremes of meanness. The adjoining rooms were foul and tattered, dirty rags of cloth were hanging every where about, and the attendants were the most squalid and sickly-looking creatures I ever contemplated. In fact, there was that striking display of splendour and meanness so characteristic of all half-civilized barbarians.

Outside this bath was the source from whence the water springs. It was gushing from the brow of a rock, and I

wished to ascertain its temperature. We had a thermometer, but the owner was afraid it would be cracked by the experiment, and would not suffer it to be used, so I was obliged to apply the test of sensation. I was apprized it was too hot to bear, and Tournefort, I remembered, had said people could not endure to dip the tip of the finger in it*. Notwithstanding, I tried, and suffered for it. I merely passed my finger hastily through the spouting stream, and the effect was as if I had poured water on it from the spout of a boiling kettle. A blister immediately rose on the part, which did not heal for a week.

We were afterwards visited by a Dr. Julius Kelli, a native of Leghorn, who had come to Brusa in the year 1787 as a merchant, but changed his profession to that of a physician, and so continued to practise here ever since. He drew up a detail of the memorable things of Brusa for Latour Maubourg, the French ambassador at Constantinople, which he was so good as to let me see. He found here forty-eight simple and twelve mineral baths, either for the public or in private houses. On analysis he discovered the general ingredients were sulphur, iron, muriate of soda, and a small quantity of copper; two, those of Kurkuithé and Kara Mustapha, had a very large proportion of sulphur. The degree of heat in the baths was from 40 to 42 Reaum. and in one 44; near the source it hardened an egg in two minutes. The waters are used for syphilitic, rheumatic, and pustular complaints, and are in the highest repute in May and September. The time for a patient varies from five minutes to one hour: women are admitted three times a week on days when men are excluded. Warm springs, though remarked at the time of the Trojan war, were not applied to medical uses. Pliny remarks that Homer does not mention

* Ainsi l'on n'y sçauroit souffrir le bout du doigt.—Let. 21.

them*—nor does he himself, among those he enumerates, notice those of Brusa. It does not appear, I believe, that they were used as medical waters, till the time of the lower empire, when Stephen the Byzantine notes them as imperial establishments†. The Turks would not let such means of ablution fall into decay or disuse, so Mahomet I. re-established them and put them into their present state.

From the baths we ascended to the Acropolis, which we saw on our return towering over our heads. The walls on each side the gate were formed of materials older than themselves, as we perceived among the stones some with Greek inscriptions, having the letters inverted, but in such a decayed state as to be illegible. Within the precincts of this gate no Greek is allowed to live. From hence we entered the ancient and original Acropolis, the walls and stones of which stood on one side, close to the edge of a very steep precipice, which hangs over the lower town. It contains an area of about two acres, now a garden under cultivation. On the walls at the entrance were forms in relief sculptured in stone and nearly obliterated, and beside them rude figures of eagles in brick work, probably the work of the lower empire. What traces remained of the first indicated a much better style of the arts, and were of an older and more cultivated period.

We now stood on the undoubted remains of a work of the greatest proficient in the art of war that ever lived, and we could perceive, without much skill in the science, that however efficient it might have been in ancient warfare, it would be of little use at the present day. High as it was, it was completely commanded at no great distance by the still

* Homerum calidorum fontium mentionem non fecisse demiror.—Hist. Nat. lxxxi. c. 6.

† Τα δ' ἐν Περσουσῃ βασιλικα λεγομενα.

higher ground of Olympus, and the few old guns on the ramparts were so elevated, as to render it impossible to bring them to bear on any object below; so, as far as our skill went, Hannibal's fortress was neither fit for offensive nor defensive warfare.

Within this enclosure is the mosque in which is the tomb of Orchan. We were anxious to see the place which contained the ashes of this first barbarian who passed the Hellespont. They suffered us without scruple to enter the mosque, and showed us every thing we required. The walls were lined with different-coloured marble, placed in singular angles; much of it, however, had fallen away, and its place was supplied with painted mortar. They pointed out to us several slabs on which were sculptured the cross, intimating that they had formerly belonged to an edifice of infidels; yet the Turks suffered those emblems of Christianity to remain desecrating their mosques. The tomb of Orchan is of colossal size, and crowned at its highest point with a large turban. The body of the edifice is filled with smaller tombs, which they told us were those of his wife and children. We inquired for the large drum kept here, which, by some internal mechanism, emitted a loud sound when it was slightly touched, and which Dr. Kelli informed us had been used by the Greeks to call the congregation to prayers. We learned, however, that this curiosity had been destroyed by a great fire which occurred in Brusa twenty years before.

After seeing every sight worthy in the town, we prepared to ascend to the top of the mountain. This is a lion as formidable almost as ascending to the top of Mont Blanc. The property of this vast mountain is vested in the Sultan, who retains a monopoly of all its snow, which is more valuable than gold-mines in this country; so we had to wait on

the Pasha for permission to ascend. He received us, as usual, very graciously; but, as usual, expressed the astonishment of a Turk at European restlessness, "running about the country to look at old walls and climb difficult mountains." It was impossible to explain to a Turk a gratification which he could no more conceive than that of a sixth sense; so we merely asked him for a guard and a guide, which he readily sent. Next morning before five o'clock we were on horseback, and proceeded up the mountain from the rear of the town. Our way lay along the edge of an immense chasm, which at some remote period seemed to have split the mountain to its centre. This chasm in process of time had been filled up with trees, which, in the course of centuries, attained a prodigious size: for five or six miles we ascended along the precipice, looking down into this forest, till we arrived at a region where all trees gradually disappeared, except firs, leaving a belt of pines round the mountain. Among these the silver fir was exceedingly beautiful; lichens, of uncommon luxuriance, in a parasitical manner had attached themselves to the branches, covering the whole tree with a long green beard.

Having emerged from the wood of pines, we found ourselves at one extremity of a level plain, the other end of which was terminated by a ridge of snow, forming a chain of pinnacles which ascended perpendicularly like an immense battlemented wall. This plain, which is six miles broad, is at a great elevation and sensibly cold: it is covered with a thick green sward, and watered by innumerable rills meandering through it, from the snows constantly dissolving on the ridge. A number of herdsmen and women had ascended here with their cattle to feed on the rich herbage during the summer, and had just pitched their tents. Where the streams meet with depressed spots they form

lakes, which abound with fish that are found only in cold northern climates. We bought here, from a man who was fishing, a dish of excellent trout, a fish utterly unknown at Constantinople or in any part of the Turkish dominions, I believe, except in this spot; they are sometimes carried down by torrents into the beds of the rivers below, where they immediately die from the heat.

We met here a drove of sixteen mules with their bells, descending from the snowy peaks, loaded with ice. It was cut into cuneiform blocks, and wrapped up in thick folds of felt, and so packed on the back; each mule carried what sold for five piastres. The produce of the whole mountain is farmed to a man at Brusa, who has a monopoly of it; he is obliged to send a boat-load every day by Moodania to the seraglio at Constantinople; the promontory from whence it departs is called Booz Bournou, or the Icy Cape. It is so abundant at all times that the poorest person in Brusa cools his sherbet with it. The mountain is never uncovered, but it continues, during the most intense heat of summer, to give the usual supply, till the winter again replenishes it.

We now arrived at the base of the snowy ridge, and not able to proceed any farther on horses we left them to our guide: it was here, near one of the lakes, that Tournefort, who attempted to ascend the mountain, was obliged to stop, and returned. Our way lay across acres of snow, which we found sufficiently consistent to dig our feet in, and so make steps of stairs. Having clambered in this way, for about two miles, sometimes on firm ground and sometimes sinking so deep that we apprehended we should be swallowed up in some covered cavern, we at length reached the upper edge of the last belt of snow, where the cone of the highest precipice emerges. We had now passed five distinct regions, viz.—the region of cultivation, the

region of forest-trees, the region of pines, the region of rivers and fish, and the region of snows; but we now came to a sixth, more beautiful and curious than all the rest—the region of saxifrages, of which I have collected several different species above that elevation where all vegetation becomes extinct in other mountains, except that of lichens. The pointed summit of the cone being very steep and exposed to the rays of the sun, the snow had gradually melted and slipped down; as it receded, it left a moist soil, from which sprang up innumerable plants of the saxifrage tribe, some of them of surpassing beauty. It was curious to see those lovely little flowers raising their rich scarlet heads along the edges of the snow, and bending their stems as if to hide their blushing faces when the modest veil that covered them was drawn aside. As some were to me quite new species, I took great pains to bring them to Pera alive; I succeeded, but they soon languished, and died out of the air of their native mountains.

We now sat upon that pinnacle which Jupiter often occupied when he called the gods around him, and he certainly could not have chosen a better place to see what was going on in the world below. On the summit was a circle of stones placed, with one near the centre; on reckoning them we found there were just twelve, which we assigned of course to the *dii majores*, as their seats when they formed the council. They exactly resembled the Druidical remains found on our mountains; they were scratched over with names of other adventurers who had ascended here. We were on the highest point of a mountain not more, in this place, than a few yards in circumference, though it rises from a base of seventy miles; we were 10,500 feet above the level of the sea, a height nearly equal to that of the Pic of Teneriffe. We could see Europe and Asia, with the seas that

divide them, viz. the Euxine, Bosphorus, Propontis, Hellespont, and Ægean, and just below us were the plains of Asia, dotted with towns, lakes, and forests. The thermometer, which at Brusa stood at 86°, here fell to 46°, so that we made a sudden transition from suffocating heat to what appeared, by the contrast, intense cold; but the most distressing sensation we felt was that described by Saussure in his ascent to Mont Blanc, a great difficulty of breathing on the smallest exertion. This arose from the rarefaction of the air; we also found the thirst he mentions, which, however, we easily appeased by a mouthful of snow. In some places the layer of snow was forty feet thick; this was visible at the edges of the precipices, where the strata reposed with their faces cut down by a perpendicular section. In one place the bed formed a roof to a fissure, which descended almost to the bottom of the mountain. We had the curiosity to creep under this arch, and look down into the chasm; it was as regular as if it was made by art, of Parian marble: vast icicles were suspended from the sides, and from behind rushed a river of melted snow, which tumbled with an immense cataract into the chasm below. We did not remain long in this sublime recess of nature, we trembled so with cold or fear that we soon scrambled out again. The snow was everywhere giving way, and we all thought at once, if the arch fell in, while we were under it, what would be our fate?

We found that the basis of the mountain was granite, which is seen in different places bursting from its sides in large round masses. The snowy peaks were quartz, and bore a general analogy to the remark, that conical hills of this stone usually repose on beds of the other.

We now prepared to descend, and came down the snow much faster than we went up; where the inclination was not

too abrupt and we were not afraid of shooting over a precipice without being able to stop ourselves, we slid along the surface as if we were skating, and in this way I came down an inclined plane in ten minutes, which took me half an hour to climb across. We found our horses, and having taken some refreshment which we brought with us, we returned to Brusa. In re-crossing the elevated plain we were all and simultaneously seized with an invincible propensity to sleep on our horses, similar to the effects which others have felt in cold mountains. We urged them on, that the accelerated motion might keep us awake, watching each other to take up whoever should drop. We arrived at our khan at six o'clock, having been eight hours in ascending the mountain in nearly a right line, and five hours in returning. It was an excursion not very difficult; neither Tournefort, however, nor Kinnaird, nor any other traveller whose works we had read, had reached the summit, though some attempted it.

One of my companions was so ill however the next day, that we could not leave Brusa as we intended, nor proceed to Apollonia, which we had marked out to visit. I was greatly anxious lest he should have taken any of the fatal disorders which cut off travellers in these countries, and I had melancholy forebodings of those accounts where a friend is suddenly arrested by death on the road, and the solitary survivor, after seeing him shut up for ever in his narrow prison, pursues his way alone. Thank God, however, it was not my fate—my excellent friend recovered in a few days, so as to be able to travel in a *Tartaravan*. This is a litter like a long sedan chair, supported between two poles, which, instead of being carried by men, are suspended in a horizontal position by mules, who stand between the shafts; it has curtains at the sides and cushions at the bottom, and

the invalid reclines quite at his ease: into this my friend got, and we turned homewards.

We proceeded to Moodania, a sea-port town on a gulf of the same name, and here we were thrust into the most horrible khan to be found in all Asia. The only room for our accommodation was not simply ragged, and naked, and filled with vermin below, but above, the ceiling was covered with a net-work of cobwebs, interwoven in the most complicated manner, and at least a foot thick; here thousands of tarantula spiders as big as walnuts had taken up their abode, ready to drop on us every minute, and the crevices of the walls were filled with centipedes and scorpions, and all that tribe of horrid insects which heat and filth engender in this climate. We made our escape from this place as fast as from the snow-cavern, and went in search of the Greek priest of the town; by his means we got established in a house of community of Greek ecclesiastics, who were very kind to us.

Next morning we hired a boat, and proceeded to sea; and here we had nearly made a fatal end of our excursion. The sea of Marmora at this season is subject to sudden squalls, which come on without a moment's warning. It was a calm and lovely evening, without a breath of wind; we were so near our island that we were pointing to our boatmen where to land us, when suddenly the air became very sultry, and there appeared on the horizon the usual dark leaden-coloured spot. After a few minutes this seemed as it were to burst, and a most tremendous hurricane to issue from it; in this extremity, all that vessels can do is to try and run before it: this we did, and our little skiff shot over the immense dark waves like a sea-gull. At length a blast came whistling behind us, which carried away our mast and sail—they entangled in the sea—the boat was unmanageable

and began to fill with water, and the Greek boatmen said it was "for their sins;" threw themselves on their faces and gave themselves up to despair—and so almost did we. In an open boat filling with water, in a wild sea of a dark evening, and no one to manage it, we did not see how we could float much longer. As we were good swimmers, however, our first impulse was to pull off our coats, and be ready when the boat sunk under us; but when we contemplated the agitated waters about us, and no friendly shore which we could hope to reach, we sat with our boots half drawn off in the bottom of the boat, desisting from what we thought would be an utterly useless effort. At this moment a large Turkish vessel came driving before the gale, and a gleam of hope shot across us that succour was at hand; but we were assured, from the state of deadly hostility existing between the people, that the Turks would be glad of the opportunity of running down and sinking a Greek boat, rather than saving it. She however was as helpless as ourselves: she drove wildly before the gale with her sails flapping, and passed us rapidly in the greatest distress. We drifted hopeless, but without sinking, to the coast of Asia, and were thrown in the dark, wet and exhausted, among the rocks. Hence we made our way to a little town filled with people infected with the plague, who had fled from another where it was raging; this evil, however, we also happily escaped, and the next day reached our convent.

CHAPTER VIII.

Vaccination at Chalki—General use of issues—Swathing infants—Dispensary—Extraordinary cures for jaundice—Gillandjik—Nereides—Reliance on Panaya—Effects of bastinado—Locusts in Pera—Devastation of Palace Garden—Flight to Black Sea—Final fate—Arrival of Giraffe—Sent to visit Foreign Ambassadors—Mentioned in Pentateuch—Propitiatory gift—Lascars—Mocha Coffee—Turkish notions of Geography—Artificial Globes—Reception of them at the Porte—Remarks of Turkish Ministers—Torture inflicted on two Ionian Subjects—Extraordinary privileges of Dragomans—Not acceded to by British Ambassador—Patlingjam Melktem—Solemn sound of Black Sea—Awful destruction of Ships—Sardinian Treaty—English Sea Captain—Sudden change of temperature—Optical deception—Proclamation of Padisha—Return of Capitan Pasha—Selictar Aga.

BEFORE we left Chalki, we carried into effect a practice for which the people were very desirous. About thirteen years before, the small-pox had made dreadful ravages among the children of the islands, so we proposed to introduce vaccination, which they had heard of, but never seen practised. I obtained some matter from subjects I had vaccinated at Pera, and the people sent their children in crowds from all the islands. I inoculated, on an average, about twenty persons a-week, and continued the practice for two months. I began with infants, and when all the children had gone through the operation, the adults came forward. At first boys and girls of ten or twelve, and at length men and women of all ages, up to forty, who had never had the disorder, nor had used any prophylactic, but now availed themselves of it. The adults beyond that age thought themselves secure. When all those who had not had the disease were thus protected in Chalki, we proceeded to Antigone, where, under the auspices of the good Archbishop of Mount Sinai, we protected the people there

also. In the progress of our practice, I discovered a usage among the Greeks which I had no idea any people could carry to such an extent. In one arm of almost every adult I found an issue either actually running, or an escar to mark one that had run dry. They insert them for eruptions on the skin, inflammations in the eyes, and various other complaints; in fact, it seemed to be considered as a kind of specific. As I always vaccinated for security both arms, whenever I missed the issue on the first, I was generally sure to find it on the second. This practice was not confined to one sex, but equally extended to both. It was almost always attended with a visible emaciation of the part, and the person who appeared stout and well made, when divested of his coat exhibited the deformity of a withered arm. Another circumstance was the multitude of bandages in which the infant was wrapped up. The swathing consisted of several yards of cotton or flannel, which began at the feet, and was rolled up to the head, and so tight as almost to impede circulation, and deprive the child of all motion, except in its eyes. It was quite a tedious process to get out an arm to vaccinate.

To our vaccine institution we added a dispensary, and so came to the knowledge of various modes of cure practised on the islands. Jaundice is a frequent disease, and two rather extraordinary means of healing were adopted. The squirting cucumber* is very common on the island. The pod is covered over with a rough cuticle, full of sharp tubercles. This is rubbed to the nose of the patient till he sneezes three times, and is thus repeated till the cure is effected. Another is more complex and scientific. Two needles are set, in the form of a cross, at the bottom of a pipkin. The vessel is then filled up with clear water, and

* Momordica elaterium

the patient, taking it up in his hand, looks intently on the needles, which are visible through the fluid. If the needles continue visible, the patient will not recover; but if they gradually disappear to his eyes, he is sure to be healed. The theory is, that the colouring matter of the distemper is attracted by the cross into the water, and so the morbid cause is drawn from the body. I found the water was prepared for the purpose, holding some earth in solution, which, by the addition of an alkali, is deposited, and so gradually obscures the needles. Like all diseases which are modified by nervous influence, this effect on the imagination perhaps assists the cure—a stimulus is given—absorption is promoted, and the discolouration disappears. It is certain the Greeks apply to it constantly, and, as they think, with a success which a less credulous or imaginative people would not experience.

I was often called on by patients labouring under the *Gillandjik*. This is affirmed to be a disease peculiar to the place. Its symptoms are an anasarcous swelling, confined to the face and abdomen, but attended with emaciation in other parts of the body. It was supposed to be the infliction of some invisible agent, and its first cure was always attempted by spells and incantations. It was only when these failed that they applied to our dispensary; and, I am sorry to say, our practice in the complaint was not much more successful.

Another disease, which was ascribed to a supernatural cause, was *Nereides*. This was an enteritis, or inflammation of the bowels, attended with very painful and alarming symptoms. The cause assigned for it was this: the spirit of a departed man walks about the islands like the wraith in the Hebrides. He is everywhere to be met with, particularly near the burying ground, where his body is deposited. He is

particularly susceptible of insult, however unintentional, and he avenges it with great severity. People therefore are cautious what places they use for necessary occasions, lest they should by any chance defile this invisible being. Should they do so, the offence is instantly followed by a violent complaint in their bowels. Whenever this disease can be referred to such an act, the first attempt at cure is to appease the offended person by spells and offerings. When these failed, they applied to us for medicine as a forlorn hope. In some cases the application was too late in a disease which is often so brief and fatal; but certainly some did recover, and so baffle the malice of this angry being.

But their great reliance in disease was placed on exorcism, and the prayers of the church. The feast of the Assumption is held in as great reverence by the Greeks as it is by the Latins, though they do not believe that the body of the Panaya was taken up into heaven. It is called by them the repose or death of the mother of God,* It occurred while we were on the island. The boats were crowded with people from the Fanal, who came to be present at the celebration, and the church of our convent was covered with its most splendid decorations of scarlet velvet and gold. The ceremony began at nine in the evening, and lasted all night, without the smallest intermission, till five in the morning. A considerable part of the congregation, and those who seemed most deeply interested, were persons diseased, particularly females and children, who came to be healed. They crowded to the shrine of the Virgin, and having placed the patients in beds laid on the flags round the altar, they kneeled or sat beside them all night in act of prayer One mother had brought a child almost in the agonies of death, yet she hung over it with an

* Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου.

eagerness of faith and hope, now looking at the picture of the Virgin, and now at her child, as if she expected every moment to see a miracle performed on it. In a smaller chapel were some men, who were affected with similar feelings; people surrounded them, and others pressed to look in upon them. They lay gazing on the altar with intense interest and anxiety, waiting for the command "to take up their bed and walk." I never saw a number of persons on any occasion, particularly the women, who seemed to be so filled with an energy of belief and devotion. We heard next day of sundry cures accomplished, and no doubt a strong imagination and a firm persuasion had their effects in modifying morbid feelings.

On going to Pera a few days after, as soon as we landed at the Custom-house quay, all the crew of the boat was seized and led into a square, surrounded with Turks, where several other Greek boatmen from the islands stood as prisoners. Here sat a cadi, who ordered them all to be bastinadoed; they had transgressed some regulation, and were to expiate it by this punishment. Each of them was seized in turn, and thrown to the ground on their backs. Their bare feet were then secured between poles held on each side by two men, so as to present the soles, while others with rods as thick as walking-canes struck as hard as they could lay on, till the cadi motioned them to stop. The unfortunate sufferers shrieked and seemed in great agony; some fainted and lay on the ground senseless when the punishment was over; others could not walk, and were borne away on the shoulders of their friends, and those who suffered least tottered along as if in great agony. On my return to the islands some of these poor people came to our dispensary in a state of lameness; the lower extremities of one man were frightfully swelled, as high as his hips, and from the

discolouration of the skin and other symptoms, we thought a mortification would ensue. By fomentation, however, and such means, they all recovered.

In the exhibition of medicine, we found that the Greeks required a much larger dose than that usually given in England. On consulting the apothecary at Pera, he informed me, that they never took less than two ounces of sulphate of soda, and that a drachm of aloes was the usual dose. This latter was the quantity prescribed by Dioscorides, who complained however that the drug was adulterated in his day, and its strength reduced, which may probably be the case at present. Castor oil also was taken in a singular manner. The seeds were swallowed like pills. This also is following the prescription of the ancient Greek physicians. Dioscorides directs the immense quantity of thirty seeds as a dose.*

On my return to Pera, the first objects that struck me were the locusts that I had left in the plains of Asia Minor, which had arrived at the capital before me. There had appeared, coming from the south, an extraordinary looking cloud, obscuring the sun like a veil of gauze. When it arrived over Pera it resembled a mass of sand, diffused in myriads of grains through the air, which presently began to fall, and showers of locusts everywhere filled the streets. A large division of them lighted on the cypress trees of the little cemetery and the vicinity, and the rest passed on towards the Black Sea. When I entered the palace garden, I found it filled with them, and nearly in the same state, but more grown and capable of flight than when I left them on the plains of Asia. The whole surface of the walks was in a state of undulation, so that when any one attempted to pass among them, they rose about him everywhere, as high

* Diosc. cap. clviii. In some editions, however, thirty is reduced to three —τρεῖς κοκκοὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν.

as his head, and he waded through them. In this state they appeared very beautiful. Their bodies were generally red and green, so that when they expanded their wings and turned to the sun, they reflected various bright and vivid colours. They were pursued by flocks of birds, who lighted among them and devoured immense quantities, yet it did not seem to diminish their numbers.

They did not appear to have attained their full size even yet. They were generally about two inches long. Their wings had not been capable of sustaining them in a long flight. They were probably borne along by the wind so far, and stopped here till they were more able to continue their progress. Everything green in the garden soon began to disappear, till its denuded appearance resembled the depth of winter. The exceeding hardness and horny strength of their mandibles enabled them to feed on the shoots, and even the bark, when the leaves were consumed, and the noise they made in crunching resembled the crackling of fire among bushes or stubble. One morning they were seized with a sudden and simultaneous impulse; they all rose together, like a flock of birds alarmed by the sound of a gun, pursued their way, with a light breeze in their favour, to the Black Sea. Here they were met by an adverse wind, which they did not seem able to stem, and they were driven back into the mouth of the Bosphorus, and were found in all the villages about, crawling up the walls and clinging to everything they could lay hold on, in a state of great debility; and here I afterwards saw them in thousands dying and dead. But the great mass perished in the waters, and were borne by the stream back again to Pera. Here their bodies formed a long and broad line extending for more than a mile in the still water occasioned by the currents of the harbour and the Bosphorus, till it was cut across and

broken in various places by the passing of caiques, and they were finally dispersed and lost in the sea of Marmora. The smell of their putrid bodies was very offensive, and likely to produce in warm countries, and in the vast abundance in which some writers represent them to have lain on the ground, an epidemic sickness. It is thus the insect produces first famine, and then pestilence; and we can readily conceive what a fearful scourge it must have been in the hand of the Almighty, when he was pleased to use it to afflict the Egyptians. As far as I could learn from inquiry, they were the first flight of locusts that had been seen at Pera by the oldest person, though scattered insects were often observed in the fields. In fact, these did leave their larva behind them, and the next summer I met with considerable numbers in the hedges; but they also disappeared, as if there was something in the air and climate uncongenial to their propagation.

In September we were surprised by another visiter as rare as the locusts. A slave in Egypt, having committed an offence, escaped to the desert; and after wandering about for some time, took refuge in a thicket. Here he discovered the haunt of an immense animal, which greatly terrified him; but finding the creature more timid than himself, he followed it for some time, till he came upon its den, and there he found two young ones, with which he soon became familiar. Supposing he had now obtained the means of his pardon, he contrived to entice them after him, and finally presented them to his master as an atonement for his offence. He was forgiven; and his master, who had incurred the anger of Ali Pasha, presented them to him from the same motive. Ali, who had begun to excite the suspicion of the Sultan by his equivocal conduct, determined also to make them a propitiatory gift. One of them died, but the other was taken care of, and in due time despatched to Constan-

tinople. It was embarked at Alexandria, but the vessel ran aground on the coast of Asia Minor, where the animal was landed and walked to Scutari, from whence it was conveyed to the Seraglio. On its arrival it was found to be a giraffe or cameleopard.

The Turks, whose curiosity, like that of children, is strongly excited by anything unusual, were greatly delighted with this creature. On the day of its arrival, no business was done at the Porte, for all the ministers had gone to see it. It was then sent to visit the people of rank at Constantinople, and after being paraded about the streets for some weeks, the British Ambassador and other foreign Ministers received a notification that it would be sent over to Pera to visit them, on any day which they appointed. A day was fixed, and the animal arrived and proceeded to the Galata Serai, close by the English palace. In walking up the narrow Pera street, the windows were crowded with people, who held in their hands various confections, and such things as they thought the animal would like. It was exceedingly curious to see it turning its head from side to side to the people in the upper windows, and gently taking from them whatever they offered him. When arrived at the place of his destination, the whole of the corps diplomatique, with all their suites, went in a kind of state to visit him. We were first entertained with refreshments, and then proceeded to the court-yard, to a platform erected for the purpose, where the animal was brought into the area below. He was led round by two grooms, who held a collar on each side, so he moved majestically between them. Nothing could be more curious or strange than his first appearance; the smallness of his head, the astonishing length of his neck, the rotundity of his body, the height of his fore-quarter, and the shortness of his hinder parts,

giving an extraordinary slope and descent to its back, but, above all, the loose and awkward motions of its limbs, not diagonally, but those on the same side at the same time, made it exactly resemble men clothed in skins to represent a camel on the stage. In fact, it looked like some artificial thing dressed up for exhibition.

But its most extraordinary attitude was when it attempted to eat. Some plates of rice and raisins were presented to it, of which it only tasted. It was more attracted by an acacia which happened to be growing in the area. It threw up and back its head; then, taking the pinnate leaves in the curl of its tongue, it stripped the branches bare in a moment. It was then invited by some grass growing out of the interstices of the stones, but seemed greatly distressed to get at it. It made several attempts, but the height of its fore-quarters was too great even for its long neck; it continued to persevere, however, stretching out its limbs wider and wider after every effort, till its chest seemed so strained as to be in danger of splitting open; but it could not succeed in cropping the grass, notwithstanding the most extravagant expansion of its legs. The position, which seemed to be the most painful and awkward, nature probably never intended it should be placed in. Its residence being a sandy soil, where there is no grass, and its food being the leaves of trees, it is formed to stretch up to their branches. When it drinks in its native state, it is probable it wades into the water, so as to bring the surface within an accessible distance of its mouth; the keepers always lifted up the vessel to accommodate it. The shape of the animal seemed altogether to accord with this opinion. I measured its dimensions; from the hoof of the fore foot to the tip of the ear was eleven feet nine inches, while from the hoof of the hind leg to the insertion of the tail was not four. The

splendid body cloths, when thrown over its back, immediately slipped off behind, till fastened on by bandages round the neck. The head was profusely decorated with amulets of blue beads, to protect it against the influence of an evil eye. The gentleness, familiarity, and docility of this immense creature were quite delightful. It recognised its Arab attendants with great affection, and it came among us like a spaniel, put out its head to be caressed, and seemed quite pleased with being stroked and patted. Its nature is so very mild, that when one was shot by Mr. Gordon, in Africa, it died in the act of licking his hand.

The appearance of an animal of this kind is of rare occurrence in Europe. Pliny says it was first seen at the Circensian games exhibited by Cæsar *. In the time of Horace, it was publicly exhibited on the theatre, where it appears to have attracted great applause †. It is described by Dion, who mentions it as being shown about ‡, and by Varro, who says its name was derived from having the form of a camel and the spots of a panther §. But the figures represented on the Prænestine pavement leave no doubt that it was the same animal as that now called a giraffe; and it became so common at Rome, that a herd of ten of them were exhibited together in the reign of the Emperor Philip: though it afterwards became so scarce in modern times, that when Le Vaillant, about half a century ago, sent the skin of one of them from South Africa, the naturalists of France believed it to be a fabrication till they examined its texture with a magnifying glass.

Much has been said of its being the animal mentioned in the Bible, under the name of זמר, zomar ||. The learned

* Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. viii., c. 28.
† Hor. Epist., lib. ii. i., l. 198.
‡ Dion, lib. xliii.
§ Varro de Ling. Lat., lib. iv.
|| Deut. xiv. 5.—Shaw's Travels, vol. ii., p. 283.

Bochart affirms that it is not; while Shaw has assigned good reasons for supposing that it is. The Septuagint and the Vulgate translate it cameleopardalis; but our version has it chamois, though such an animal is not a native of either Egypt or Syria. He thinks that the Israelites, while in Egypt, had many opportunities of being acquainted with the animal, and certainly the translators who so rendered the word had also; further, that it is a clean animal according to the Levitical law; and above all, that it is rendered zuraffa, or zeraffa, in the Arabic version, from whence it is now called giraffe. Though considered at Constantinople the first of the kind that ever was seen there, yet it appears from Busbequius that, shortly before his arrival, one had been exhibited, but had died, and was buried. He had the bones taken up and examined, and from these he gives an accurate description of the animal*. It appears also to have been an instrument of propitiation on other occasions besides the present. When Tamerlane, or Timour, conceived the project of annexing Africa to his empire, and from thence invading Europe, by the straits of Gibraltar, his design was averted by a giraffe. The soldan of Egypt obtained one of these animals, which was found in the interior of the country, and sent it to Samarcand as a present to the Tartar. He received it as a great curiosity, and was so gratified by the gift that he suspended his intention†.

A third arrival at this time presented a strange appearance at Constantinople. Some people were seen wandering about the streets, whose appearance greatly excited the surprise of the Turks. They wore turbans and long dresses

* Ossa tamen quæ sub terra condebantur eruenda curavi ut inspicerem.—Busb. Ep. i., 71.

† Gibbon, chap. lxv.

like themselves; but their sallow tawny faces and their white robes were objects for which the people could not account, and various conjectures were made as to who and what they were. At length it was found they were Lascars, who had come with a cargo of coffee from Mocha. One of our Indiamen stopped there on her way home, took in some coffee, and, on passing the Straits of Gibraltar, thought that it would be a better speculation to send it to Constantinople than to London. A considerable part of that consumed by the Turks comes from our West India plantations, and Arabian coffee is rarer and dearer than in England. It was sold on the spot for eight piastres thirty paras the oke, which at the then rate of exchange was about two shillings per pound. It was considered a great luxury, and all the coffee-houses that could procure some were crowded while it lasted. The Turks in general had no conception whence or how it came; some few, however, of the more intelligent, who had travelled on a pilgrimage to Mecca, had themselves acquired some knowledge of the countries through which they had passed, and to whom, as to favoured persons, Allah had imparted more, affirmed that the ship which brought it had passed from the Red Sea directly into the Mediterranean.

Some time after Lord Strangford sent the Porte a valuable present. He had brought with him a pair of very large globes from England; and as the Turks had latterly shown some disposition to learn languages, he thought it would be a good opportunity to teach them something else, and he determined to send them over to the Porte, and asked me to go with them and explain their object; so I undertook the arduous task of giving the Turkish ministers the first lecture on the use of the globes which I believe they had ever received. They were not altogether unacquainted with such things, however. There had been

an artificial globe formerly seen, and they called it carpoos. Now carpoos is the Turkish name for the only species of gourd* they have which is perfectly spherical, so they called the globe of the earth a water-melon for the same reason.

This important present was brought over with becoming respect. A chouash went first with his baton of office; then followed two janissaries, like Atlases, bearing worlds on their shoulders; then myself, attended by our principal dragoman in full costume; and, finally, a train of janissaries and attendants. When arrived at the Porte we were introduced to the Reis Effendi, or minister for foreign affairs, who, with other ministers, were waiting for us. When I had the globes put together on their frames, they came round us with great interest, and the Reis Effendi, who thought, *ex officio*, he ought to know something of geography, put on his spectacles and began to examine them. The first thing that struck them was the compass in the stand. When they observed the needle always kept the same position, they expressed great surprise, and thought it was done by some interior mechanism. It was midday, and the shadow of the frame of the window was on the floor. I endeavoured to explain to them that the needle was always found nearly in that direction, pointing to the north; I could only make them comprehend that it always turned towards the sun. The Reis Effendi then asked me to show him England. When I pointed out the small comparative spot on the great globe, he turned to the rest, and said "Kutchûk," little; and they repeated all round "Kutchûk," in various tones of contempt; but when I showed them the dependencies of the empire, and particularly the respectable size of India, they said "Buyûk," big, with

* Cucurbita citrullus.

some marks of respect. I also took occasion to show them the only mode of coming from thence to Constantinople by sea, and that a ship could not sail with a cargo of coffee from Mocha across the isthmus of Suez. The newly appointed dragoman of the Porte, who had been a Jew, and was imbued with a slighter tincture of information, was present; so after explaining to him as much as I could make him comprehend, I left to him the task of further instructing the ministers in this new science. Indeed it appeared to me as if none of them had ever seen an artificial globe before, or even a mariner's compass.

There is a small prison beside the English palace gate, where British subjects taken in any act of delinquency in the country are confined, after they are handed over to their own ambassador. I was one day about this time sent for by some unfortunate prisoners confined in this place, and paid them a visit. They were from the Ionian Islands: one named Johan. Rovit, a native of Corfu; the other Pan. Scourta, from Cephalonia. They were tailors by trade, and lived at Galata. Rovit was a young man about twenty-five, with very dark hair and complexion, the other a fat comely man about thirty. They were dressed in Frank clothes, and had been taken up under the following circumstances. A Sciote boy was brought a slave to Constantinople, and after a time made his escape with some property of his master's. He was retaken, brought back, and to save himself he turned Turk, and then informed against a coffee-house man and the two tailors as the persons who instigated him to escape, and who received some of the property he had stolen. They were all brought to the prison of the Bostangee Bashi, and put to the torture, the particulars of which the Ionians minutely described.

Rovit had first a cord drawn so tight round his forehead

that his eyes were forced out of their sockets. He described the agony of this as intense, and indeed he had a staring look like a man still suffering under such an infliction; his eyes seemed protruded forward as if by some force, and it was probable that they never would again return to their former position. Next day his hands were tied by the wrists; they were then drawn backwards over his head, and down toward the small of his back, in such a way that his joints were dislocated, and the extremities of the bones, twisted from their places, protruded from their sockets. The cords were drawn so tight that they entered a considerable way into his wrists, and the wretched man had the evidence of this torture also in the distortion left by the dislocation, and the deep sores that remained after the cord. Scourta was not so severely treated; he was merely tied up by the middle of his naked body, and in that state, suspended in the air, was beaten with clubs. What became of the coffee-house man they could not tell; but torture extorted no confession from them of a crime, of which they declared to me they were entirely innocent. Fortunately for them they were claimed by the ambassador as British subjects, and so protected from any further infliction. It was another fact, however, establishing incontestably that the application of torture is still a part of Turkish justice.

An affair occurred at this time at Pera illustrating a certain feudal right claimed by our dragomans to make reprisals on their adversaries, and exercise a *lex talionis* on their own authority. Two ladies had taken a plot of ground in joint tenancy, on which they proposed to build. Before the respective boundaries of each were ascertained, one of them began her house, but the other was dissatisfied, as she said it encroached on her premises. The matter was referred to the Turkish authorities, and an order was obtained to prevent

the parties from proceeding with the edifice. With this the lady promised to comply; but in the night she hired an additional number of workmen, and instead of the offending part being pulled down as was supposed, the whole was finished. A second complaint was made, and the Turks proceeeded, not against the delinquent who had disobeyed their injunction, but against the unfortunate carpenter, who acted by her orders, and the man was thrown into the horrid prison of the Bostangee Bashi. And now commenced the system of reprisals. The offending lady was sister to the wife of the principal dragoman of the English mission. He took up the cause, and had the servant of the other lady arrested, for no reason but because he was her servant; and not content with this, he proceeded to the house of one of her tenants in Pera. This man sold ices and confectionary, and paid her, not a fixed rent, but half the profits of his business. To stop his business, therefore, would be an effectual way of distressing the enemy, so he arrested the man without the smallest pretext or authority, threw him into prison, put a seal on his house, and the key in his pocket. The affair now became serious and a matter of universal interest. As these arbitrary and tyrannical acts were done apparently under British sanction, the English were exceedingly indignant, and the ambassador interfered. It was in vain that he was assured it was a right always allowed and exercised by the dragoman of the mission, and confirmed by long prescription; he insisted on the liberation of the men. The dragoman was at first contumacious, and felt the indignity as a Scotch baron of the middle ages would have done whose feudal rights were invaded. He thought it however much better to comply than be dismissed from his very lucrative situation, though he assured me it was an indignity he never would forget or forgive.

Shortly after another very disagreeable incident occurred to him. I was examining with the ambassador some objects in a large compound microscope of considerable magnifying power. The dragoman came in to make his report at the moment; and as he had never seen a microscope before, I thought it would gratify him to show him an object, so I presented him with some mites. He was astonished at the extraordinary creatures, which appeared, he said, like young pigs, and requested to know what they were. When I showed him the decayed cheese he became violently affected. He was remarkably fond of English cheese in that state; and when he found he had been cranching alive such large animals, like the Gentoo merchant he was greatly shocked, and would have crushed the instrument that discovered it to him. It deprived him of a favourite food. Some time after he dined at the palace, and pushed it away from him with great disgust.

As the end of the year approaches in Constantinople, the Black Sea becomes an object of great interest to the people. One evening in autumn as we were walking on the shores of the Bosphorus, near the great cemeteries, a dismal sound came to us in the air, like the moaning of people in distress. There was something exceedingly solemn in the noise, as if a warning of woe to all who heard it. This we found was the moaning of the Black Sea. There is a season called Patlinjam Melktem: it is the time in autumn when a gourd of a particular kind appears in the market; and simultaneous with its appearance a north-east wind sets in. The Black Sea, driven against its western shores, emits an awful sound, as its waves lash the rocks at the mouth of the Bosphorus, and it is prophetic of death and destruction to any ships who may be at that time attempting to enter the Boghaz. The passage is so narrow that it is difficult

to find, at any time, by the unskilful mariners who usually navigate this sea; but when fogs fill the air at this season of the year, and fall upon this coast, obliterating all trace of it, and presenting one uniform mass of dense obscurity, the destruction is sometimes fearful. It is for this reason that ships hasten their departure and arrival before the melktem commences.

In a few days after we had heard this ominous sound, all the mercantile world of Pera were in alarm, and accounts were hourly arriving to the different houses of the loss of their ships from Odessa and other ports; and the merchants were hastening to look after them. Induced by the accounts I had heard, I accompanied a gentleman who set out to save any part that he could of the crew or cargo of a stranded ship in which he was concerned. The scene of desolation was more dismal than even my imagination presented. A considerable length of coast from the Phanaraki point to Domosdere is a flat shoal, running to a very great extent into the sea. This dismal uniform waste of white sand appeared at a distance dotted over with dark spots. On coming among them we found them to consist of fragments of ships and their cargoes, with the bodies of the crews strewed about over an astonishing space, exhibiting an appalling picture of destruction. When the melktem sets in, and occasionally at other times, vessels are either irresistibly driven on this shore, or mistaking it in the obscurity for the mouth of the Bosphorus and anxious for a place of security, run voluntarily upon it, and are soon dashed to pieces by the tremendous surge which at these times beats over it. The native vessels which trade in the Black Sea are particularly ill calculated for such a navigation. They are remarkably tall and ponderous, rising very high at the stern, seeming quite unstable in the water in the calmest

weather, presenting such a lofty surface of side to the wind that it seems impossible for them to bear up without upsetting; when caught on a lee-shore, therefore, they are immediately driven on it. While I contemplated the waste of life and property before me, and added it to those other scenes of destruction I had witnessed from pestilence, conflagration, and civil commotion, I could readily account for that ruin and depopulation which mark the Turkish empire for their own.

The danger and obstruction to which the Turkish ships are exposed in this sea are not equally participated in by other nations who are more skilful. The Genoese, who once braved so successfully all its dangers, and were for a long time shut out from it, were at this time again re-admitted. The right of navigating it by the Sardinian flag, which had for fifty years been a subject of discussion at the Ottoman Porte, was now conceded to that state by the Turks, through the intercession of the British ambassador, and the bold and enterprising ships of Genoa, now no longer an independent republic but an appurtenance of Sardinia, were in right of this treaty again navigating a sea where every promontory bore testimony of their former power. On this occasion his Sardinian majesty testified his gratitude by letters to the king of England, and his representative at the Porte, for the favour procured for him. He proposed to confer upon the latter some *distinction d'honneur*, but regretting that the *règlemens d'Angleterre* would not permit him to accept it, he begged him to keep his portrait which he sent. On this occasion a singular laxity of a nice sense of honour was displayed. It was necessary that the British ambassador, acting for the king of Sardinia, should have powers from under his hand to show that he did so. He expected to receive them at the congress of Verona, but departed with-

out them. They were now written for, and daily expected; but as their arrival occasioned some delay, it was suggested by a diplomatist that their arrival should be anticipated by substituting others, imitating the hand of his majesty. This to be sure could make no actual difference, as the genuine letters were on their way and daily expected; but it intimated a sad ignorance of the moral feeling of the British government, to suppose for a moment their ambassador would attempt to impose upon the court where he resided a forged document.

Among the ships which passed into the Black Sea this season, was one which excited much speculation. She entered the Bosphorus from the sea of Marmora under English colours, and, without stopping at Constantinople, proceeded on her way. When arrived at the Castles in the Boghaz, she was hailed and brought to; but pretending to lower sail, she got into the current, shot into the Black Sea, and disappeared. No one could tell or find out what this mysterious vessel was, but she was generally supposed to be one of the Greek prizes which had escaped from the Capitan Pasha, and by adopting the use of English colours had got safe to Russia. In a short time, however, the mystery was solved: she was an English merchantman; and the following letter, characteristic of the style and phraseology of a sea captain, was sent to the British consul and transmitted to the ambassador:—"Mr. Yeames Sir—in the Brig bowes from London Addressed to Messr Lander on the 27th Nov. I came in to the Charnel of the Dardnels wear I was borded By the Turk Admiral but receivd no pas and on the 10th ult I past the citty of Cunstantopple But ignorant that any such as A pas wose requerd more then what I had having A bill of Elth and Medetraneaun pas from london those I have Deliverd to the Curonteen oficer dear sir

I hop thear will be no Detenchon and if their bee any fees to Pay to Cunstnopel it may be Dun from odesca no mor at present from yr obedent sert—Odesca 24 Nov. 1823." This classic epistle was communicated to the Porte, and the Turks were satisfied.

After the melktem had passed, a south wind set in, and an intense cold accompanied it. This unusual phenomenon was easily accounted for. Mount Olympus had been for a few days obscured by the drift which had swept along; but it now emerged with more than usual majesty, entirely covered with snow, presenting a most brilliant and dazzling spectacle, and seeming to impend almost over the city. It stood like a great refrigerating mass close beside us, and the wind that blew from it made us shiver. The thermometer in my room suddenly fell from 66 at midday to 34.

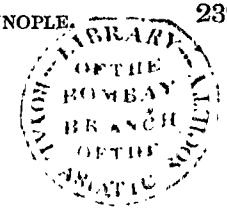
This phenomenon was attended by another which alarmed all persons. Immediately after dark in the evening, on looking through the windows of the palace, we saw the whole horizon over Constantinople in a blaze. As this seemed by far the most extensive fire that had occurred, involving the whole of the city from the Blachern to the Seven Towers, we gazed at it with great interest, supposing the whole of the devoted city must soon be reduced to ashes, and we ran up to the kiosk on the top of the palace to witness it from a greater elevation; but the light suddenly faded away, and all was dark. We now found it to be nothing more than an optical delusion. The rays of the sun, after he had set below the horizon, were reflected by some strata of clouds, which threw down upon the city the strongest glare of a general conflagration.

The next Sunday, just before divine service, a crier stood beside the palace gate, and made a long proclamation. He held in his hand a baton shod with iron, which he struck

three times sonorously on the pavement; and when he had thus collected a crowd in the streets and windows, like one of our bellmen, he lifted up his voice and said,—"The Padisha, taking into his consideration the vain superfluities of female apparel, strictly enjoins every woman whose ferrigee touched the ground to cut it off as high as her ancles; and every woman whose head-dress extends too far from her head, is ordered to restrain it within due limits." The windows and doors of all the streets about the palace were filled with women listening to this important proclamation as the crier went along. The Greek women were in the habit of enlarging their head-dress with gauze and tinsel to an enormous expansion; and in those perilous times no kokona felt her head safe on her shoulders, till she reduced it to a size the Padisha thought reasonable.

The year 1823 concluded with the return of the Capitan Pasha. It was intended that his entrance should be on the day of the accouchement of the sultana, who was on the eve of her confinement; but that event did not take place. He passed the seraglio point with a fine breeze; and it was expected that the usual number of Greeks hanging to his rigging would dignify his arrival. He had but one solitary body suspended from his bowsprit under a standard, with the cross inverted; sixteen had been prepared in the sea of Marmora for the exhibition, but they were required for some other purpose.

Immediately on his return the grand vizir was deposed, and other changes made in the ministry. Among them a new selictar aga, or sword-bearer, was appointed; he had been a barber, and he continued still to exercise his functions on the head of the sultan.



CHAPTER IX.

Birth of a Child at the Seraglio announced at the British Chapel—Story-teller at Ramazan—Adventures of Tiffli—Turkish Bible sold at Custom-house—Alarm excited—Distribution prohibited—Ipsara—Turks attack it—Gallant defence—Fall of the Island—Recovered and abandoned by the Greeks—Noses and Ears exposed—Standards displayed—Attack on Samos—Crowds of Fellows set out from the Capital—Turks repulsed—Return of disappointed Marauders—Plague breaks out in British Palace—Great Alarm—Quarantine at Belgrade—Author supposed to have taken it—Abandoned in the Mountains—Attended by Janissary and Greek Boy—Protection used by the latter—Ambassador proceeds to England—Departure of the Author.

THE commencement of the year 1834 was distinguished by the birth of a child to the sultan. We were one Sunday, just as I had begun my sermon, startled by an explosion of sound of a most discordant kind just within the chapel door. This we found proceeded from a band of Turkish musicians, who, with wind-instruments of most harsh and braying tones, had come from the sultan to announce to the English ambassador the birth of another child. From hence they went to the other mission; between every explosion of the musicians an orator made a speech, declaring the name and sex of the child, and congratulating the ambassador on the event. This was accompanied by a discharge of artillery at daybreak, midday, and sunset, which shook the whole of Pera. By this announcement we learned that the sultan had two sons and five daughters living. He had four others who died young.

The Ramazan began this year in May; and its commencement was marked by a display which I had never witnessed before. Returning home from a friend's house

about nine o'clock, I perceived the area before the palace gates filled with people. There is a large coffee-house beside it, which is much frequented by janissaries and others. Before this a number of joint-stools were placed in semicircles, and occupied by Turks and Armenians, who were all helped to coffee and pipes, after which they sat silent like an audience in a theatre, and then a man ascended to a platform before an open window. He was a medak, or story-teller. I found he was the most distinguished of his profession, and was esteemed as the Mathews of Constantinople. He was called by the Turks Kiz Achmet, or Achmet the Girl, from certain effeminacies which mark him. He keeps a coffee-house himself, where he entertains his company on ordinary occasions; but while the Ramazan continues he is engaged to attend at others of more note and better frequented. During the present festival his engagement was at the coffee-house of the English serai for eight hundred piastres, to exhibit himself a certain number of nights. The sultan had on one occasion heard him, and was particularly delighted with him. He frequently afterwards sent for him to the seraglio, and intends to give him an appointment, with a salary and apartments in his own medak, and so revive an appendage to Turkish royalty, which, like that of our fools, had been long discontinued. The medak's stories are sometimes exceedingly gross, and he affects a familiarity in telling them which no man but himself would dare use in the presence of the sovereign.

On the present occasion he showed infinite tact and talent. He first clapped his hands three distinct times to intimate he was going to begin; and then, in engaging the deep attention, and exciting the various passions of his audience, I never saw a man who possessed more power,

sive risus essent movendi sive lachrymæ, though the latter occurred but rarely. His voice was loud, distinct, and very flexible. He spoke with wonderful ease and fluency, imitating the peculiarities of the tone and manner of the characters he represented, and acting the several parts and situations with a drollery and versatility which was quite surprising and unexpected in the monotonous gravity of a Turk. There was one *ruse* in which he was particularly clever and successful. When he had wound up the attention of his audience to a high degree, and they were listening with breathless expectation of what was to come, he suddenly stopped, and stepped down among them with a coffee-cup in his hand, to make a collection; every one knew the sooner it was filled with paras the sooner the story would go on, so they hastened to do so. He then returned to his place with his overflowing cup, and resumed the thread of his story where he had broken it off. I took a stool among his audience, put paras into his coffee-cup, and, in fact, felt as much interest and amusement as I could have done at the representation of one of our best actors. I had an interpreter beside me who explained the heads of the story; and though I could not follow it in detail, his pantomime was so excellent and true to nature, that I could perfectly comprehend his characters without understanding all they said. One story was the adventures of Tiffli, who was entertained by sultan Murad as his fool or buffoon, and seemed the hero of many a tale; it was as follows:—

Tiffli was sent by the sultan into Persia on an errand to the schah, by whom he was sumptuously entertained and lodged; but the weather was very cold, and he almost perished by having the honour of living in a palace; his attempts to warm himself, his struggles to support the

dignity of such a residence, and his uncomfortable sensations, were exceedingly droll and laughable. From the schah he received a precious apple, half emerald and half agate, which he wished to send as a present to his own sultan; so he selected for his messenger a rude ignorant fellow, who spoke barbarous Turkish. When this envoy arrived at Constantinople, he inquired where the sultan's house was; the different people he met, and the conversation that ensued, formed a very amusing part of the narrative. At length he finds his way to the seraglio; and unacquainted with form or etiquette, he pushes straight forward into the courts, while the janissaries and chouashes beat him back with their staves. He gets a glimpse, however, of the sultan at a distance, and waving his shawl, he shouts out to him, and shows the apple, which he holds up. At length he attracts his notice, and is sent for; the curious apple is examined and joyfully received, and he is presented as a reward with two thousand piastres.

He now becomes a great man, falls in with various gay company in the capital, and at length gets entangled with a party who are accused of improper practices, and all sent to the Bagnio. Here he meets with a Greek and a Jew; and the discrimination shown in the peculiarity of them both, in endeavouring to speak and pronounce Turkish, was admirable. The lisping organs of the Jew made his attempts at Turkish as imperfect as they are at English. At length it is found that the accusation was false, the men innocent, and the vizir, throwing himself at the feet of the sultan, obtains their liberation. There were just forty in all, including Tiffli's messenger; but the Jew, in order to get out along with them, covers him up with sand while he is asleep, and introducing himself among the rest, the number forty is counted, and the Turks attending only to so many

without caring much about their personal identity, the other is liberated in his place. At length he awakes, and finding his companions gone and himself left behind, he makes a piteous outcry with his mouth full of sand, the sound of which is imitated with infinite humour. He, however, gets out also, and proceeding along the streets, he perceives a man stretched at his ease, so he stretches himself beside him, takes out his chibouque, and begins to smoke; wishing, however, to enter into conversation with his companion, he asks him some questions, and receiving no answer, he attempts to rouse him. He perceives, for the first time, that he has no head, and, in looking for it, sees it stuck in between his legs. He takes it, and endeavours to set it on its place. At this moment the sultan passes by, and the other is so engaged in fitting the man's head to the shoulders, that he does not perceive, or takes no notice of him. The sovereign, enraged at this disrespect, immediately orders the delinquent to be beheaded and cast beside the dead man; just as the sentence is about to be executed, the chouashes discover who he is, so he again escapes.

He now meets with a dervish who is remarkable for an enormous cowl stuck on one side of his head, and they embark in a caique for a village on the Bosphorus. On leaving the caique he gives the caiquegee a piastre, and demands twenty paras in change; he has no change, and cannot procure it, but will not return the piastre; and here a discussion ensues between him, the caiquegee, and the dervish, in which their various peculiarities are happily imitated and well kept up. He now lands, and determines not to have any more to do with caiquegees; he hires a horse which is very refractory, and his awkwardness and embarrassment exactly resemble those of the tailor of

Brentford. He leaves his unmanageable horse, of whom he can make nothing, and then proceeds to a coffee-house to refresh himself after his fatigues, and then to a bath; after which he takes a pill of opium to make kef, which affects him in a very laughable manner. At length he determines to settle himself and marry; so he employs a black slave, one of those who have great influence in Turkish houses on such occasions, to look out for a wife for him. She soon finds one; but the parents of the girl wish her to marry an Arnaut soldier; the dexterous management of the slave, however, procures her for her employer. After some time he complains that his wife has the dropsy, and brings her out into the street that the neighbours may see her. The women all come forward and examine her, and give their different opinions; but one of them finds a child moving, and communicates the discovery to the rest. It is at length decided that she is in the family way; so he brings her home quite satisfied, and the story ends. It had continued from nine o'clock till midnight, sustained with unabated humour on the side of the narrator, and listened to with untiring interest on the side of the audience. Every successive evening, new adventures and new characters were introduced.

The intervals between the parts of the story were sometimes filled up by singing, like music between the acts in our theatres. Three musicians sat with guitars on the divan within, and accompanied songs which were sung either by themselves or others. One of them I thought particularly pleasing. I send it you arranged in the divisions in which the lines were sung.*

The Turks, who had shown some sensibility to the influence of the press in political matters, now displayed it

* See Appendix, No. V.

in religious matters also in a remarkable manner. In the year 1666 two translations of the Bible into Turkish had been effected: one by Seaman into Tartaro-Turkish, printed afterwards at Oxford; the other by Ali Bey, a Mahomedan. He had been a Pole, who was stolen while a child by the Tartars, and sold to the Turks, among whom he rose to the rank of dragoman to the Porte. He was acquainted with seventeen different languages, and was particularly attached to the English, in which he had made the greatest progress. At the instigation of Lewin Warner, the Dutch ambassador, he undertook to translate the whole Bible into Turkish, which he completed; and when ready for the press, it was sent by Warner to Leyden for the purpose of having it printed. This, however, was not effected, and the manuscript remained in the library of the college till the year 1814, when, by the direction of the British and Foreign Bible Society, it was searched for and found by Mr. Pinkerton, who obtained a loan of it from the curators of the library, for the purpose of having it revised, copied, and edited; and in the year 1818 it was completed and printed.

In consequence, however, of some inaccuracy of the translation which was overlooked in the revision, a few only of the copies were issued, and the circulation of the rest suspended; but in the meantime some of them had made their way to Constantinople. They were intended, not for the Turks, but for the Greeks resident in Asia Minor, who from disuse had forgotten their own language, and adopted that of their masters. The few sent out were well received, and no objection made by the Turks to the distribution of that which they thought not worth their notice.

In June, 1824, some of them were in possession of a Greek merchant, who had them for sale. He became a

bankrupt, and his goods were sold to pay his debts, and these books among the rest. The sale took place at the custom-house; and the gombrookgee, or head of the department, seeing some books in his own language about to be disposed of, purchased the whole lot, kept one for himself, and distributed the rest among his friends. The books thus made their way though several families, began to be read and talked of, and at length they attracted the attention of the imauns in their domestic visits. A report of the fact was made to the mufti, and a sudden alarm was immediately communicated at this progress of the Christian Bible. An order was immediately issued at the custom-house, that no more should be imported or distributed, and in conformity with a hatta sheriff of the sultan, a firman was published and read in the mosques and public places, denouncing the book, cautioning all good Musulmen against reading it, prohibiting the sale of it in any of the book bazaars, and ordering the authorities "to snatch them from the hands of all with whom they shall be found, cast them into the flames, and reduce them to ashes."* Copies of this firman were dispatched to all the Turkish provinces, and the noble kadis of Constantinople, Scutari and Eyub were ordered to see them executed.

Notwithstanding these proceedings I was informed that few of the copies in circulation were given up or destroyed. A glimmering of light was breaking in on the people, and the new-born sensation began to please them. The very importance given to the book excited their interest, and made those who had got it reluctant to part with it. The Turks, who profess to tolerate, as in fact they do, every religious opinion, wished to make it appear that the objection was to the temporal tendency of the book only. The

* See Appendix, No. VI.

Greeks, as I mentioned to you before, among the islands had begun to apply the 15th and 17th chapters of the Revelations to their situation and circumstances, and the Turks found themselves denounced in their own language as the beast over whom their enemies were to be victorious.

But a circumstance now occurred which raised the spirits of the Turks. An account arrived at Constantinople in July, announcing the capture of Ipsara. This little rock, which we had seen the year before in the glory of its independence, formed so distinguished a feature in the Greek revolution, that perhaps you may wish for some account of it. It is mentioned in the Odyssey*, and then by Strabo, and others, as lying near Chios, and distant about six miles. It is scarcely noticed by modern writers. Sonnini calls it a small rocky island, possessing neither the means of commerce nor agriculture; yet this was the spot that at one time set at defiance the whole naval power of the Turkish empire.

When the Greeks began to recover by their industry and activity from the calamities which the Russians had formerly entailed on them, the greater part of the trade of Anatolia and Roumelia fell into the hands of the islanders, and covered the barren and desolate rock of Ipsara with hardy and enterprising sailors. To protect them against the pirates which infested the Cyclades, they purchased permission from the Porte to arm their vessels with cannon, and thus give themselves that protection which the government they lived under could not afford. When the insurrection began, Ipsara contained a population of 4000 persons, with a town

* Η καθύπερθε Χιοιο νεὀιμεθα πάιπαλοεσσης
Νήσῳ ἔπι Ψύριης. *Od.* γ. 171.

By the Scholiast on the passage, it is called Νῆσιδιὸν λυπρὸν ἄπεχον σταδίους π'. τοῦ Χιοῦ. See *Strabo*, lib. xiv.

having 700 houses. It was among the first places that declared for independence—immediately sent ten armed ships to join the common fleet, and commenced operations by one of the first captures that had been made against the Turks. They took a vessel filled with pilgrims and soldiers; the latter they killed, but they spared the former to sell them as slaves to their countrymen in the Morea; and their emissaries were the most numerous and active agents to rouse the other islands in the common cause.

As this little rock was a sharp thorn in the side of the Turks, they determined to destroy it, so the Capitan Pasha collected all his fleet at Metelyn, which seemed so numerous as to stretch across the Archipelago, as if they had bridged the sea from the point of assembling to the devoted island. In this state of things news arrived at Constantinople that the island was taken and destroyed; but as the particulars were not given, and for a week no further details arrived, the sanguine Greeks affirmed that the Turks were repulsed with vast loss, and the security of the place confirmed. While in this suspense we were visited one night at the convent at Chalki by a Greek merchant of the island, who detailed to us the following particulars:—

On the 1st of July, 1824, the Turkish fleet appeared before the island, accompanied by a French schooner, who bore a flag of truce. She had on board some Greek priests, who brought with them proposals for an amnesty of the fullest kind for the past. The insurgents replied that the Capitan Pasha might lose his head for his lenity, and then they would be entirely at the mercy of his despotic master. The pasha then sent them the sultan's hatta sheriff, with his sign manual. They finally declared they were now convinced of his weakness; then tearing the paper, they scattered the fragments in the air, some of which the breeze bore on board

the pasha's ship as their answer. They gave him, however, to understand that, as his offer was humane, they would not destroy him and his ships, provided they would surrender.

The Ipsariotes had never thought of fortifying their island when they first joined the confederacy, nor was it till after their first cruise that they put it into a state of defence. They then erected four batteries on different points. These were mounted with the cannon taken from their ships, and manned by their crews; but the chief force on which they relied was 3,000 Albanians, who defended their principal battery. Before the pasha had sailed from Metelyn, he had opened a communication with these men by means of a spy, and he prepared them to surrender the fortress they guarded as soon as it was attacked. The Turks, after reconnoitring the island, and having made some slight attempts on different parts, lay the first night close to the shore; but by a precaution which they had never adopted before, they suspended lanterns to their masts and yard-arms, so that the island was surrounded by an immense fleet of illuminated ships. The Greeks directed several shots at these lights, but without any effect. The next morning, before it was well day, the Turks prepared to land, and their first movement was directed against the battery manned by the Albanians. A detachment of 4000 men, in climbing the rocks, was completely exposed to their fire, but they never attempted to molest them. They proposed, as had been agreed on, to capitulate, but the Turks rushed suddenly in among them, put them all to the sword, and paid them in this way the reward of their treachery.

When the rumour of this was spread through the island, terror seized on all the people of the town. They rushed down to the harbour, and with the women and children filled the dismantled vessels they found lying there. As

the Turkish fleet was engaged elsewhere, this point was left unguarded; so the crowded ships were immediately hauled out into the open sea, and there they found that the rudders had all been taken from them, so as to remove any hope of escape or safety except in the defence of the island. Thirty-one ships in this state, crowded with people, were at the mercy of the elements, wherever the winds and waves should drive them. The great majority drifted to the coast of the Morea, and the people on board were saved. One however fell in with a Turkish ship, but rather than surrender even in that hopeless state, they blew their ship into the air.

Mean time the armed Greeks still made a vigorous stand at the other batteries. At that of St. Nicholai, their principal dependence, the wind blew directly on the shore, and carried all the smoke of the Turkish guns as well as of their own into the faces of the garrison, who were obliged to fire at random, directed only by the sound of their adversaries' guns. Still they kept their ground, till the fortress crumbled away from under them, and they retired to their last refuge to make their last stand, in the hope that the succour they were promised and expecting from their countrymen would arrive. Here they held out for some time; and it was in this interval that there was no confirmation of the news that the island had fallen, but the Greeks of Constantinople were sanguine that the Turks had been repulsed. This last hold the Turks now attacked by sea and land with all their forces; and the defenders, finding it crumbling away from under their feet, and knowing they had no other retreat, prepared for the last sacrifice. They made a show as if all resistance had been silenced, and the Turks rushed in to avail themselves of it. When the fortress was crowded to excess with both combatants, a white flag, with the words "Liberty or Death!" was dis-

played on the ramparts above, and a match, previously prepared, was applied to a large magazine of powder in the caverns of the fortress below. The whole was instantly blown into the air; and, when the explosion subsided, nothing was seen but fragments of rock and mangled bodies. On this occasion 7,000 persons perished, comprising nearly an equal number of Turks and Greeks.

As this little spot was of vast importance to the insurgents, the eyes of all men had been directed to it; and from the suddenness and apparent facility of its fall, it was said the defence was feeble, and altogether unworthy of the cause. But without adverting to the tremendous means of attack and the feeble means of defence, it is to be considered that, of the four fortresses hastily erected, one fell by treachery, two were crumbled into ruins, and the fourth was blown up in the air;—that of the Turks 10,000 men were destroyed, and of the Greeks the whole male population, with the exception of some of the primates, who escaped;—and that the island, when taken possession of, presented no other object than that of a barren rock covered over with mangled bodies.

As soon as the dismantled ships were drifted across the Archipelago, and the news of the attack was thus conveyed, the confederate fleets prepared, but too late, to do their duty. Among the other injuries which loans and reliance on foreigners had done to the cause of the Greeks, is to be included the loss of this island. The government were in daily expectation of receiving promised remittances, and the individuals who had been at the expense of fitting out the ships detained them till in this way they should be reimbursed their expenses. But the young men of Hydra and Spezzia, indignant at the sordid motives of delay, now hastened on board themselves. Eight thousand of them

assembled in the different churches, and simultaneously received the sacrament, under a vow to retake Ipsara or never to return. They hoped to arrive in time to assist the islanders, but they arrived too late;—the island had fallen, and their friends were dead! The Capitan Pasha had just sailed for Metelyn to refit, leaving 2000 Turks behind him to repair the dismantled fortresses. The Greeks suddenly landed, soon overpowered the Turks in their unprepared state, and, putting the garrison to the sword, retook possession of the place, with several Turkish ships in the harbour filled with plunder. As the rock was now altogether untenable, they embarked all the cannon and other effects worth taking away, but not one countryman was alive to embark with them. The Capitan Pasha, having had information of this by a small ship that escaped, hastily returned, but the Greeks had departed before his arrival; so he again withdrew to his station, finally abandoning this memorable spot, which, the week before, swarmed with people, but was now more desolate than Scio, without a single being that had life on its surface.

Though I had already seen a display of ears and noses, I had no wish to contemplate such a sight again, yet I felt an irrepressible curiosity to witness the other trophies of the gallant little island which accompanied them; so I took Ismael, one of the palace janissaries, with a servant, and proceeded across to the Seraglio. The mutilated faces were lying in heaps as before, but in a state of putridity highly offensive, particularly so as the day was very warm; and a circle of dogs, attracted perhaps by the odour, remained crouched in a large circle round them, waiting for an opportunity to begin the repast. The Turks who passed in and out of the Seraglio did not show the smallest sensibility either of exultation or disgust;—they seemed

neither to have sight nor smell, but passed through them as if they were ordinary objects in the street. Behind the heaps was placed, on the wall, a yafta, detailing the fall of Ipsara, which several Turks were reading, and beneath them were some painted figures of Christ and the Panaya, which, either by accident or design, were lying on the ground, so that all who came to read the yafta must trample upon them.

The standards were displayed along the wall to a considerable extent. They consisted of banners of different forms and sizes. Some few were not much injured, but the greater number were torn to ribands and stained with smoke and blood, as if they had been dragged from some deadly struggle. Many of them were similar to those I had already seen among the prizes of Galaxidi,—white cloth, with devices worked on them, having an inverted crescent surmounted by a cross, with the inscription of the Spartan mother. Some had axes and Turks' heads,—a few were painted, representing various passages in the life of Christ, and one contained a large figure of his resurrection, holding in his hand a banner, with the word ANACTACIC in large letters. But the standard which most attracted my attention, and which in fact I came over to see, was that which had been raised over the fortress as a signal for the explosion. This was pointed out to me by Ishmael: it was of immense size, made of white cotton bordered with red. It had on it a crescent, a cross, and an anchor with a serpent issuing from the eye of it and gaping for a bird that was flying into its mouth; across it were the letters ΗΛΑΗΘΥ. The emblems were afterwards explained to me by a learned Greek to imply, the Greeks enticing the Turks into the fortress, and the inscription Ελευθερια ἡ Θανατος, 'liberty or death.' This flag, though greatly scorched and torn, was

quite new, and looked as if it had just been made. It was impossible to contemplate it, still waving over the mutilated remains of those who unfurled it, without recalling to mind that desperate devotion which in all ages has distinguished the Greeks.

The Turks, inspired with new energy by the destruction of this formidable little island, determined to follow up their advantage by attacking in detail all the others. Their next object was Samos. This was a particular mark for Turkish vengeance, not only from the early, decided, and successful part it had taken in the revolution, but from the annoyance it continually gave them. It had furnished no part of the Grecian fleet; but from its contiguity to the coast of Asia, divided only by a narrow strait, predatory parties were continually passing over, plundering the Turks, liberating their own countrymen, and carrying off their masters as slaves, with all their cattle and other property. They were besides the most active emissaries in instigating others to revolt, and were generally too successful. The Turkish admiral was ordered therefore immediately to proceed to Samos to join the Egyptian fleet, which was expected there to meet and co-operate with him. Negib Effendi had been sent to Mehemet Ali Pasha to hasten the departure of this fleet, and had just returned to Constantinople with an account that he had sailed in it from Alexandria with 20,000 troops, of whom 4,000 were cavalry.

When this news was expanded over the capital, an immediate excitement took place among the populace. They looked forward to a repetition of the scenes of Scio, and every fellow who could command a pistol and a yatagan pressed to join the expedition. Crowds therefore crossed over to Scutari to proceed along the coast, and others embarked in scampa vias to proceed thither by water. A

multitude of fellows of the same description swarmed to the coast from all parts of Asia, and this united mass collected about Scala Nova, and finally covered Mount Mycale to the amount of 50,000 men, on the same spot and at the same time of the year as the Persians had assembled 2300 years before to witness the destruction of the Grecian fleet. Hither the Turks proceeded from Metelyn, followed by the Greeks, who were determined that no supineness on their part should again afford the enemy any advantage. It is highly probable that, had the Capitan Pasha sailed directly from Ipsara to Samos and availed himself of the sudden terror excited by the destruction of the former, and before the Grecian fleet could have arrived, that it would have fallen an easy conquest; but instead of this, he said he had done enough for one time, and with true Turkish indolence returned to Metelyn to repose and repair his energies for another effort. When he did arrive, everything was prepared to meet him. The Samiotes had removed their property and provisions with their wives and children to the mountains in the interior of the island, while they stood armed on the coast ready to encounter any Turks who should land.

The Capitan Pasha's first care was to transport the troops assembled on Mount Mycale across to the island. For this purpose his transports and small craft were stretched over the narrow part of the Boghaz, nearly forming a bridge from the island to the opposite coast, on which the assembled multitude began to move across. The Greeks had divided their fleet: Miaulis with a part of it had proceeded to meet the Egyptians, and anticipate their junction with the Turks, while Sactoori, who was left behind, immediately bore down upon the chain of transports. These were soon sunk or dispersed, while the Turkish fleet

looked on, lying in the broad part of the channel, and afraid to venture into the narrow strait. After various attempts of this kind to carry the multitude across, which were frustrated in the same manner by the Greeks, the Capitan Pasha determined himself to attack their fleet. His ponderous and unwieldy ships were soon out-manœuvred by his more light and active enemy. They were driven out to sea; and after various encounters, in which a Turkish frigate and two African ships-of-war were blown up by the Grecian fire-ships, the alarmed Turks retired from the island, and were pursued by their victorious enemies. Meantime, the assembled multitude of marauders, having witnessed the total ruin and dispersion of their only means of getting across, began to retire; and the Samiotes, who eyed them as they would an angry tempest ready to burst upon their devoted heads, now saw them dispersing like a harmless cloud, till in a few days they all disappeared.

It was with no small apprehension and anxiety the Greeks of the Fanal watched the event of this expedition, and waited the return of the fellows who had left the capital, expecting to see them coming back as before stained with blood and loaded with slaves and plunder: their pleasure was of course equal to their surprise when they saw them return as they had set out. Some of them who had just landed at Tophana were pointed out to me. Instead of boat-loads of boys and women and valuables, in the midst of which they had disembarked before, and in their best clothes, they looked destitute, dirty, and disappointed. Some of them were very sulky and surly, and indeed their ill temper was communicated to all about them. In compliance with the popular humour, the Sultan had at first despatched orders to the Capitan Pasha to return and take

the island at the hazard of his life; he however joined the Egyptians and proceeded to the Morea.

About this time the plague, which had appeared in various ways, and alarmed us by distant rumours, now entered our own precincts, and broke out within the walls of our palace. You cannot appreciate such a thing unless you were to witness the alarm it excites, and the terror with which the boldest persons fly from it, and this I now had an opportunity of knowing in my own person.

A young man, who had the care of Lord Strangford's son, came to me one morning, and complained of violent pain in his back. He said he had been helping the printers, who had a press in the palace, to lift a large flag, on which the types stand, and he supposed he had strained his back. On examining him I found nothing to justify such a thing; but I sent him to bed, and said I would excuse his attendance. When I visited him there he complained of a disturbance in his head, and great debility and sickness. I again examined the seat of pain, and found an incipient tumour. The alarm of pestilence is so great, that I was reluctant to communicate it till there was no doubt of the disease, so I called on my friend Dr. Macguffog, and we again visited the young man. A decided bubo was formed, so it was absolutely necessary to acquaint the ambassador. I had seen the terror and alarm the disease excited abroad, but I had no definite idea of what it was till I now saw it in a house. As soon as it was announced, the whole of the establishment was in a state of commotion, flying in different directions. Many people had been in actual contact with the patient, and the impression of the nature of contagion was, that no one who had touched him could escape. But the persons most compromised were myself and Lord Strangford's son. I had more than once

handled the very seat of his disease, and the child, who was fond of the young man, had frequently taken his hand, and affectionately soothed him when he saw he was sick. I therefore was a doomed man; and as there is no respect of persons, the child was proscribed along with me, so we prepared to set out to keep quarantine at Belgrade, in the mountains.

Meantime everything that we, and others who had touched the infected, had touched ourselves, was excluded from the Palace; the beds and furniture were dragged out with tongs—a general crusade was commenced against the cats, who were shot without mercy through the house and garden, as supposed media through which contagion was conveyed, and sundry other miserable expedients, suggested by fear and folly, were resorted to. But the more important and rational one of removing the infected was not forgotten. There is a certain number of native physicians, who have no apprehension of the disease, and visit without scruple any pestiferous patient. They are generally Turks, Jews, or Armenians, and are a kind of forlorn hope in society sent on desperate expeditions. They carry about with them a staff having a large black head, with a circle of white ivory inserted in the centre, and when this is seen every one in the street gets out of their way. One of these plague-doctors was sent for, and I met the dismal man with his attendants entering, for the first time I believe, the precincts of the English Palace. I accompanied him to the apartment of the patient. He fearlessly stripped off the bed-clothes, passed his hands over every part of his body, and having ascertained the existence of certain characteristic symptoms, he pronounced it to be a case of decided and dangerous pestilence. He now motioned his attendants to approach. In the midst of the Christian terror that

surrounded them these infidels showed no alarm: they lifted the young man like a child, dressed him, and took [redacted] down stairs, and then one of them getting into a vehicle like a sedan-chair along with him, he was conveyed to an apartment in a lonely house at the outskirts of the town.

When he was removed there was a general expulsion from the Palace of all who were known to have touched him, and they proceeded to different places to keep quarantine. I with others went to Belgrade, to the house of Mr. Black, a British merchant, who was so good as to offer it for our accommodation. The generous man told me he had no concern but about us, tho[redacted]r occupation of it might eventually cause the abandon[redacted] the house and the destruction of all its costly furnitu[redacted]n my way I called at Buyukderé on Baron Miltitz, [redacted]ussian Ambassador, a friendly man, and intimate wi[redacted]ord Strangford; and as it was not improbable that I might carry the infection with me, I agreed with him to send my young charge to him, in the event of my taking ill.

For two days we all continued well, and the alarm was beginning to subside. Tartars were attending on horseback, and bulletins of health were constantly dispatched backwards and forwards from Belgrade to Pera; but on the third day I felt nausea and headache, with other febrile symptoms, which I thought suspicious, so I despatched a Tartar to Baron Miltitz to inform him of the fact. When this transpired, the alarm, which before, though great, was vague, was now brought home to the bosoms of all the compromised party. One of us was supposed to have actually taken the complaint, and the rest hourly expected it. Again they became fugitives from the dreadful disorder, and attempted to fly from that which they apprehended they

carried about them. My first anxiety was to send away my dear young friend. Seeing me ill, he affectionately followed me, and wished to take my hand, but I fe[redacted] at the thoughts of touching him, so I availed myself of the flight of my companions to have him conducted to Buyukderé. It will hardly be believed that the child was abandoned on the road to the care of a janissary, who brought him at near midnight to the residence of the Prussian Ambassador.

I now found myself utterly alone, deserted by all the world, in a solitary spot among woods and mountains. In this state of dismal desolation I thought of those unfortunate persons who, [redacted] first appearance of certain diseases in the time of [redacted]ess and ignorance, were shut out in some lonely [redacted]nd left to perish or recover by themselves. I had [redacted]lt what it was to suppose I was doomed to die by [redacted] quake, and I now felt a no less awful sensation of dy[redacted] of the plague, and being found dead by the next person who came near me. While these thoughts crowded on my mind I felt a delirium and stupor coming over me, and, after vain attempts to rouse myself and bear up against it, I fell on the grass in a state of insensibility.

I know not how long I continued in this condition, but the first returning sensation was caused by the sound of a horse's hoofs clattering along. I found it proceeded from that of a janissary whom Lord Strangford had despatched with all speed to look after me, when he heard I was abandoned and alone; had it not been for him I should have remained all night where I lay, exposed to the inclemency of the weather. He took me in his arms like a child, brought me in, and laid me in bed.) He was followed by a Greek lad, who undertook to attend me. He had had the

plague already, which is thought a protection against its return: but he had provided himself with a better. When [illegible] in their arms [illegible]es, there sometimes protrudes from it a quantity of fungous flesh, to which the Greeks attach a singular virtue. They imagine whoever wears a portion of it about his person, particularly if it be extracted from the king pest, will never take the plague, and hence it is carefully cut out, and the disgusting antidote is sold as a precious charm. I continued two or three days very unwell with the febrile symptoms generally attendant on the [illegible] stages of pestilential disease, but they gradually subsided [illegible] for without any of the characteristic symptoms of the [illegible]der supervening, except a slight swelling of the axillary gland, which, however, soon dispersed. Before I left home I had been much exposed to the infection of typhus fever for two or three years, both in hospitals and the cabins of the poor. On leaving infected places I have had frequently such attacks, which medical friends said were the attempts of contagion to establish itself in a constitution not susceptible of it. Whether such a thing be possible I presume not to say, but it occurred to me that this was a fact of a similar kind.

With respect to the young man, the *fons et origo mali*, he was carefully attended by the Oriental doctor and his assistants. The practice of the native hakims is to exclude all medicine, to poultice the bubo with fish, and allow fish as the only diet to the patient, giving different kinds in succession in a sort of graduated scale. The young man recovered from a very violent and dangerous attack, to which he himself thinks a strong dose of salts contributed, and which he procured unknown to his doctor, who pronounced such a thing to be inevitably fatal. What seemed remarkable in this case was, the countenance it gave to the non-

contagionists. The Palace was in strict quarantine at the time, and no servant allowed out. I interrogated him as well as others strictly, and he assured me he had not been beyond the gate, or in any place where it was possible he could take the disease by contagion. · Yet he did take it; while a number of persons who had been in personal contact with himself escaped, and among the rest his doctor, who every day scooped out the pestilential suppuration of the bubo with his naked finger.

The time had now arrived when the Ambassador was to return to England, having fulfilled a very arduous and difficult task with great tact and dexterity. We had been living for nearly four years in the constant expectation of the arrival of the Russians. The hostile armies stood looking at each other on the opposite sides of the Danube; and such were the causes of mutual complaint, exasperated by hatred on one side, and ambition on the other, that it was supposed to be altogether a hopeless attempt to keep the peace between them. European Ambassadors had come and gone without being able to effect anything. Mons. Latour Maubourg had arrived from France. He was a remarkably fine and comely man, and he proceeded to his audience with a most brilliant cortege. It did not seem probable that, with all this imposing apparatus, he could prevent hostilities, so he retired. Others had appeared and disappeared on the theatre of negociation in a similar manner, and the whole weight and onus was finally thrown on the British Ambassador. By one simple and straightforward line of conduct he obtained considerable influence at the Porte. The Turks said "He never deceived them," even by the slightest misrepresentation, so he gained over them an ascendency which all his European colleagues equally assented and submitted to. He persuaded both parties to make con-

cessions which they were very unwilling to grant; if he could not succeed at one time, he renewed his application at another more favourable, and by always availing himself of the *mollia tempora fandi*, he gradually removed the grounds of hostility. He finally induced the Turks to withdraw their forces from the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the Russians to send an envoy. M. Menziaki had arrived, and an ambassador was expected immediately to follow; and having thus re-established the relations of peace and amity between the hostile and angry powers, and so preserved the repose of Europe, he himself prepared to return and enjoy a similar repose. I had no conception of the cares and anxieties of diplomacy till I witnessed them in his person. He seemed to enjoy no respite, no cessation of toil. His health was seriously affected, and he laboured under a considerable indisposition in his chest. His sleeping apartment was next to mine: the last sound I heard at midnight, and the first at grey dawn, was his short and distressing cough, and I frequently found he had been all night, as well as all day, anxiously engaged in business. Lady Strangford had already departed, and on the 8th of October, 1834, his Lordship embarked for Trieste, and proceeded from thence through Vienna to England. I had written for leave of absence before: it arrived shortly after his departure, and I set out in the following month to make way by land across the Balcan mountains.

CHAPTER X.

Return to Constantinople—Political Changes—Russian War—Extinction of Janissaries—Of Levant Company—Turkish Reforms—Expulsion of Dogs—Toleration of Pigs—Use of Wine—Military Parades—Newspapers—Sultan's Clemency—Emancipation of Slaves—Liberality to Sciotes—Indulgence to Greeks.

AFTER an interval of six years, during which I had visited Russia, Brazil, and other parts of the world on professional duties, I again returned to Constantinople, and resumed my station as chaplain to the British Embassy. Three important events had taken place in the interval. The Russians, who had been hitherto restrained and deprived of all pretext for advancing to effect what seemed the great object of their ambitious policy, by the dexterous negociation of the British Minister, had availed themselves of events to declare open hostility, crossed the supposed impassable barrier of the Balcan Mountains, and advanced to the second city of the empire; but when all the world expected they would now realize the plan which for centuries seemed their leading object, they suddenly retraced their steps, and by a moderation or a policy as unexpected as it is inexplicable, declined to take possession of the capital when it was within their grasp; and why Diebitsch did not advance from Adrianople to Constantinople, I found on my arrival as much a *vexata quæstio* as why Hannibal did not advance to Rome from Cannæ.

The next event was the destruction of the Janissaries, which changed the whole face and system of Turkish prejudice and policy. As long as this truculent body existed

their influence was paramount in the country. Their principle was, that the laws of the Turks were like those of the Medes and Persians, never to be changed. They had put to death with unsparing ferocity every man who attempted at any time to innovate on their barbarous usages, and at length they themselves fell victims in defending them. Indeed it was a doubt whether the Turkish state under their control ought to be suffered to exist, at least among the civilized people of Europe. A nation so ignorant, so brutal, so hopeless of improvement as they continued to be, amid the amelioration of human condition that was every day taking place around them, seemed a blot upon the fair face of nature, and an impediment to the designs of a good Providence that ought to be removed. Happily it was removed by the extirpation of these men, and a correspondent improvement of the people immediately followed. The details of this important event you are already acquainted with; I will only add that no accounts you have heard or read could have been an exaggeration of the reality. I have made diligent inquiry into the circumstances from those who were eye-witnesses of the events, and had opportunities of knowing the results, and their testimony goes to establish the fact that twenty thousand janissaries or their adherents were exterminated during the bloody struggle, and with circumstances truly oriental. A Greek informed me that he had got entangled with a party, and was driven with them into an area, where they were disarmed and confined as prisoners. Next day an armed body entered and massacred every man in cold blood, and he only was left alive after he had been wounded, by making himself known to the commander of the party, with whom he had some connexion; and Mr. Wood, our dragoman, assured me that, on going over to the Porte on some official duty, he had to

pass through two ranges of bleeding bodies, extending the whole length of a street. They had been brought there just before and decapitated where they stood. What think you of streets lined with headless men, to do honour to the Sultan as he passed? With respect to the persons concerned in it, their names and character I believe have not reached you. As I knew some of them personally, I send you sketches of them, that you may appreciate at their just value men who have contributed probably to effect a total revolution in the supposed unchangeable state of Oriental feelings and usages *.

The last event was the extinction of the Levant Company, who had hitherto held such a distinguished rank among the merchants of the world. Till the reign of Elizabeth the English were supplied with the produce of the East through the medium of the Venetians, then at the height of their commercial prosperity. They sent an annual vessel, called Argosie, so named from Ragusa, the port in the Gulf of Venice from whence they were first dispatched, to Southampton, in Hampshire, the appointed depôt for Oriental merchandise. One of them was lost on the Goodwin Sands, with all her crew and cargo, and the Venetians were deterred from sending another. This event was recent and of much importance to the English in the time of Shakspeare, and he has alluded to it in one of his plays †. From that time the English themselves established a commercial intercourse with the East, and Elizabeth formed a treaty with the Grand Turk. Her letter on the subject is given in Hakluyt. It is written in Latin, which she seems to have "brushed up" for the occasion. The more to ingratiate herself with the Mahomedan, she alludes to the Reformation

* See Appendix, No. VII.

† Merchant of Venice, Act ii. Scene 1.

in England, and professes herself the invincible and most powerful opponent of idolatry *. The first English Ambassador was Mr. Harebone, and the first treaty was a leave to trade for five years. On this occasion certain capitulations, as they are called, were entered into, which now form the basis of our intercourse with the Turks†. The Levant Company, formed on this commencement, became the most valuable body of merchants perhaps in the world. They consisted at one time of eight hundred members. They had a fleet of twenty-four large vessels, carrying thirty guns each, trading in the different ports of the Turkish dominions. They appointed and paid the ambassador, secretaries, chaplains, physicians, and consuls, not only in the capital, but in the principal ports of the Turkish empire in Asia and Africa, with dragomans, janissaries, and all the exterior appendages of such establishments, amounting to 15,000*l.* per annum. But the march of mind was against their existence. The inutility and worse than useless effects of trading companies was a subject that had long exercised the pens of intelligent men. So early as the year 1669, Sir Josiah Child had exposed their injurious tendency, and his opinions were adopted and followed up by others. In 1803 an important change took place in the Levant Company. Government assumed to themselves the appointment and payment of the ambassador, and his Majesty's representative was no longer the creature of a trading company. In 1821 a further change took place. Turkey became the great theatre of political contest, and the whole establishment of consuls and dragomans was taken from

* Fidei Christianæ contra omnes omnium inter Christianos degentium et Christi nomen falso profitentium idolatrias invectissima et potentissima defensatrix.—Hackluyt, vol. ii. p. 157.

† See Appendix, No. VIII.

them, and placed in the appointment and control of Government alone. It was finally determined to abolish the exclusive monopolies of the Company altogether; and curtailed as they were of their most important privileges and patronage, little was left them to regret. On the 11th of February, 1825, a special general court was held to take into consideration a letter of Mr. Canning on the subject, and the society quietly dissolved itself by surrendering its charter, having existed as a body for two hundred and forty-four years. On the year of their dissolution they had exported produce from England to the amount of nearly seventeen millions, and had imported silks, opium, and other Oriental produce to the amount of twenty thousand tons, and they generously handed over to Government the sum of 70,000*l.*, a balance remaining in their hands. Lord Elgin was, I believe, the last Ambassador they had appointed, and I was the last chaplain. Their officers not only supported the proper character of their stations, but many of them contributed eminently to promote the cause of humanity, literature, and the fine arts. As a body they were generous and indulgent, and as individuals kind and friendly to all appointed under them. I am glad of an opportunity of adding my testimony of the worth of departed friends—*τό γάρ ἔστι γέρας θανοντῶν.*

My second appointment was by his Majesty's Government, and I brought with me some of my family. Sir Robert Gordon was our Ambassador, and he was so good as to appoint us as a residence an excellent house, which communicated with the palace garden. Here I sat down to write the changes that had taken place in consequence of the revolution that had occurred since my former visit.

The first thing that struck me, on landing at Tophana, was the absence of those packs of dogs which used to forage

in the heaps of offal in that neighbourhood and the adjoining streets. I learned that the expulsion of those hateful animals was one of the Sultan's first reformations. Cherished by the ill-directed humanity of the Turks, they had increased to such a degree as to become a perfect nuisance. During the dismal period of the insurrection, they were the horrid consummators of Turkish law, by lacerating the bodies of its victims, when the executioner had done. They had acquired such a taste for human blood, that they became highly dangerous. They were the great engines of annoyance when a Mussulman used to attack a Giaour, whom they hunted sometimes as they would a hare. Representations had been made by the Franks of this grievance; but it was one of those prepossessions endeared to a Turk by usage and sanctioned by prescription, in which the Sultan himself dared not interfere. When he had removed, however, the great barrier to improvement, the janissaries, he commenced his reformation by a fearless attack on this sacred nuisance. They sell at the bacculs' shops a kind of sausage, of which the dogs are immoderately fond. A quantity of this was poisoned, and certain places appointed in every district where it was thrown to them. The effects were immediate and extensive; and a friend informed me he saw them every day dying and dead in the streets, till their bodies were cast into the water. The Turks, however, had not all conquered their prejudices on the subject, though the Sultan had; so they began to murmur at this cruel destruction of their favourites, and as they were the great scavengers in a city where there are no sewers, they were really of some value. The Sultan, therefore, directed that all that were left alive after the first execution, particularly those that had whelps, should be spared, and, with their families, sent across the Bosphorus to Scutari, where

the remnant of the race was preserved, and a certain quantity of bread was daily exported for their support. Meeting a dog, therefore, in the old haunts which they so much infested was a rare occurrence, and a Frank might walk from Tophana to Pera without the apprehension of leaving the calf of his leg behind him.

But when the dogs had disappeared, by a metamorphosis altogether incredible in Turkey, pigs had begun to supply their place. The use of swine's flesh as food is as strictly prohibited to Turks as to Jews, and the precept against it constantly occurs in the Koran. It was not, however, so much a law framed by Mahomet, as one adopted from the country where he was born. In Arabia it is difficult to breed or feed pigs, and therefore the people were not in the habit of eating them; and as the Prophet generally adapted his precepts to the usages and feelings of the people, he did so in this instance. As a reason was necessary to justify the precept, one was found, and sufficiently satisfactory. Their sacred book, called Taalim, declared that the pig was originally engendered from the excrement of the elephant, and it was in evidence of the fact that they delight in ordure of every kind, and repose in filth and mud. From this exposition of the Taalim it was that the abhorrence of a Mussulman to pork was even greater than that of a Jew. An injunction amounting to a capital punishment existed against exposing that meat for sale.

The woods in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea abound with wild boars, and one of the glens is called Domosderé, or the Boars' Valley, from the multitude found there. One cause why they multiplied was, that no Raya was permitted to kill them for food; and to such a nuisance did they grow in the neighbourhood of Trebisond from the same cause, that a crusade was proclaimed against them.

The whole population of the district turned out, and five hundred were killed in one morning, and their bodies thrown into the sea.

By a very old prescription, the Christian Rayas were allowed to import in the spring of the year five hundred pigs from the Black Sea for their use; but for each of them they must have a particular teskerai, and a severe penalty was exacted from the man who was found to have a pig more than his permitted number. When in the city and suburbs they were carefully shut up from sight; and the Turkish permission about pork was, like that in some Christian countries conceded by one sect to another, of having places of public worship, stipulating that the abominations should not be seen, and so not give public scandal.

The flesh of wild pigs which feed on the beech-mast and acorns of the woods near the Black Sea is highly delicious, and greatly prized by the Franks; but so jealous were the Turks in indulging them in this prohibited luxury, that though the capitulations exempt them from excise on animal food, it was necessary, I was informed, for the different missions to have particular firmans to permit them to purchase swines' flesh, or the peasantry to sell it.

During the whole of my former sojourn in Turkey I never saw a pig, and on my journey back I was particularly struck with their appearance in the Bulgarian village of Fakih as an unusual sight, to which I had been long unaccustomed, and a proof that I had passed the confines of a Mahomedan, and entered those of a Christian people. A few days after my last arrival in Turkey I visited Therapia, and the first sound I heard on landing at the ferry was the grunting of a pig. On my way up the town I met several in the lanes foraging about, and on the high grounds above the town was a whole herd of them, close beside a flock of

sheep. I further found that their flesh was publicly sold along with the mutton in the butchers' shops, and our cook purchased it freely whenever we wished for it. The Turks, having conquered their first repugnance to the sight of the unclean animal, soon began to relax in their taste. When it was exposed for sale, many purchased it for food, without affecting to know or mark the difference between it and mutton, and in this the upper classes set the example. At an entertainment given at the French palace, several Turks of rank were present, and a friend of mine saw two of them very busy regaling themselves with some ham. Supposing they did not know in that disguised form the animal to which it belonged, he made it a scruple of conscience to tell them that they were eating the flesh of an unclean animal. They only replied, with great good humour, that it was a pity such good food should ever be thought unclean or prohibited, and they went on eating till they were satisfied. You may think this a trifle scarcely worth noticing among the revolutionary events of Turkey: but if you consider it as casting down one great barrier which prejudice, and that prejudice a religious one, had set up to prevent the Mahomedan from amalgamating with the Christian people of Europe, it is of much importance. If the Jews could be induced to say of pork: "What God hath purified call not thou common or unclean," it would be considered, I imagine, no unimportant step to their conversion.

But the most marked change observed in their domestic usages was their beginning to drink wine. The prohibition against its use was not like that against swine's flesh, a precept accommodated to the usages of the people, but some have considered Mahomet as departing from his usual sagacity in interdicting to his followers a liquor so exceed-

ingly fascinating, and which in his day was accounted a specific remedy for many diseases. But it is again to be remarked that his precepts were given to the Arabians, a people of a quick and ardent temperament, on which the stimulus of wine would produce the most violent and unmanageable effects; that they require no such constitutionally, and that, in prohibiting the use of wine, he permitted that of women, compensating his restriction by a more than equivalent indulgence. Many reasons are assigned by the Turks for this prohibition. Busbequius mentions one given to him. Mahomet was travelling, and entered a house where wine was drunk, and when he saw the exuberant good will it produced, the people shaking hands, embracing, and showing every token of love to each other, he thought it an admirable liquor that could produce such effects, and he blessed it at his departure; but on his return the following day, when he saw in the same house the marks of a violent dispute, wounds, broken limbs, and other effects of ferocious excitement, and found that these were the consequences of the same liquor, he retracted his blessing, and pronounced upon it ever after his malediction*.

The reason assigned by the Taalim is somewhat more fanciful. Two angels, named Arot and Marot, were travelling among the human race, and, like Jupiter and Mercury, were hospitably entertained at a mortal's house by a man and his wife. Among other refreshments they had excellent wine, which produced such an effect on them, that they repaid the hospitality they received by attempting the chastity of their hostess, who was a very beautiful woman. She gave them a favourable answer, provided they would teach her the words whereby they were enabled to ascend at pleasure. They did so, and the woman availed herself of her

* Busbeq., Ep. III. p. 256.

knowledge by transporting herself to the throne of Allah, and there reporting the conduct of the angels. She was transformed into a bright star for her purity and sagacity, and the offending angels were bound to the bottomless pit, called Babil, with iron chains, there to await their doom at the day of judgment, while the peccant liquor, which had produced such a demoralising effect on angelic natures, was, by Allah's orders to his Prophet, strictly prohibited to man. It is not only forbidden, therefore, by the Koran, but many rigid Mussulmans, particularly hadgees, who have made a pilgrimage to Mecca, will not even suffer grapes to be pressed, holding the making wine to be an unlawful calling, as the primitive Christians did the making images.

Among the Turks, however, the temptations to the indulgence were much greater than among the Arabs. The climate of the country was more humid and less arid, and so more favourable to the cultivation of the grape; and the opinions of the Turks were divided on the subject. Some held it lawful to taste it, and even the doctors of the law affirm that it was only the excess that was forbidden, and a Mussulman might use it, provided he did not intoxicate himself. The first sultan on record, I believe, who indulged himself in the use of it, was Amurath IV. He was accustomed to go about in disguise, as is usual with Oriental sovereigns, and on one occasion he met a cobbler in a state of supreme happiness, who persuaded him to try the elixir that had produced it. Having felt the same effects he continued to drink it till he fell asleep; but the next morning, awaking very sick, he sent for his companion with the intention of putting him to death for giving him poison, but he was persuaded by him again to try the same liquor, as a remedy for the sickness it had caused. He did so, and became a confirmed drunkard, making, as is usual in the

East, the cobbler who instructed him one of his ministers. By an odd coincidence the name of this person who thus introduced the habit of intoxication was Beer Mustapha.

Other sultans at various times were obliged to publish strict edicts against the practice. Solyman the Magnificent, in the year 1530, ordered all the vines in the vicinity of Constantinople to be torn up, and enacted the severest laws against the use of wine, as I mentioned before. Mahomet IV., in 1760, ordered all the houses that sold wine to be torn down, as well in the capital as in Galata, Scutari, and all the villages of the Bosphorus. But the growing avidity of the Turks for it was so great, that when a march of troops was ordered, strict directions were issued that all the houses in the line through which they passed which sold wine should be searched and the liquor destroyed. During my first visit this was the case, and the Greeks and Franks who vended it had a difficult task to comply with the law, for the edict was very feebly obeyed, and the Turks as they passed were more eager to get it than they were to dispose of it, though both were equally punished, the sellers and the drinkers.

But now the practice is altogether unrestrained, and the Sultan himself, though formerly a very temperate man, has adopted the use of wine as one of the European customs to which he has made such approximations. I have been informed by those who have seen him in his domestic habits that he drinks wine freely. He is particularly fond of champagne, a bottle of which is set beside him every day at dinner. His ministers follow his example; his secretary and favourite Mustapha is a notorious *bon vivant*, and indulges in the use so copiously, that his master is obliged to rebuke him, not for the practice but the excess. Official men, when present at entertainments given by the Euro-

pean Ambassadors, drink as freely as any of the company. They always prefer a large goblet to our wine-glass, and never think of mixing water with its contents, holding for a maxim that a little wine only sharpens the desire for it, exciting without subduing the appetite, but a copious libation removes every want and satisfies every desire.

Another circumstance of novelty that immediately struck me was the parading of soldiers. Formerly a soldier was never seen or recognised; the troops were generally shut up in barracks, from whence they issued to execute any order of despotism, and when they had filled a place with blood and carnage they again disappeared, like some mysterious and preternatural agents, whose existence was only known by the destruction they had caused. Wherever I have met a moving detachment on a road, they went straggling like a common mob, each man dressed in some dirty drab jacket of different colours, and distinguished only as soldiers by their tophecs, or muskets. Among the first objects that presented themselves to me at landing, were regularly mounted sentinels dressed in uniforms, and among the first sounds very sweet martial music. I proceeded to Dolma Bactché, which I learned was one of the appointed parades, and here I found two regiments drawn up and going through their evolutions with all the precision of disciplined troops. Regimental bands were playing European tunes remarkably well, and crowds of company were walking about to enjoy it, as at a parade at the Horse-Guards.

The officers were dressed in Wellington coats, pantaloons, and boots, and their rank distinguished, not by an epaulette, but by a star on their breast, like one of our noblemen. The men were yet in their transit from barbarism to discipline. Though they were formed with astonishing regularity from the rabble I had been accustomed to see, they

were yet like grubs undergoing a transformation, but not yet arrived at a perfect state. Their caps were red cloth night-caps. There was formerly placed on the crown of the head a red patch of cloth about the size of a saucer, called a Fez, round which the turban was folded. When this latter Oriental impediment to discipline was removed, the fez was left behind, but as it would not remain on the head by itself, its border was enlarged till it came down below the ears, and so it remained, the most unsightly and unmilitary covering for the head that ever was invented.

The topgees, or corps of artillery, alone wore caps like hussars, which had something of a military air, and the Sultan proposed as an improvement that a small leaf should project in front to keep their eyes from the sun. This, however, was found to involve a question of religion. Every Mussulman is enjoined in his prostrations to press his forehead to the ground, and no dress was admissible that impeded this ceremony. The mufti, therefore, and the ulemah decided that a rim to the bonnet was an impious innovation, and the Sultan was compelled to abandon his regulation cap.

The Turkish shirts are of a dingy brown silk, and without collars, nor have any yet been added to them. This, in their former costume, was not remarked, as it was in keeping with the rest; but when the bare neck was thrust out of an European uniform coat, with a standing red collar, the soldier looked as dirty and shabby as a shirtless man could look. They had changed their slippers for shoes; but many of them, unaccustomed to the quarters, and galled by the pressure of the leather, wore them, like slippers, down at the heels. Instead of being black and polished, they were covered with mud, and seemed as if a brush had never been laid on them; to account for this, I was informed that

they had all got brushes along with other European accoutrements, but finding they were made of hog's bristles, many of them, who had not yet conquered their repugnance to this unclean animal, refused to touch anything that belonged to it. Their very exercise had something peculiar in it; they shouldered their muskets by placing the lock inside, and supported it by suffering the guard of the trigger to rest on the bend of the arm, turning the musket, as it were, inside out, as if they still retained a lingering indisposition to do anything like a European.

There seemed nothing to which a Turk was more attached than to his very awkward and inconvenient saddle, and he did certainly acquire a dexterity in its management that no one but a Turk, who seems formed for that left-handed aptitude which led him to do everything in opposition to us, could attain. The Sultan, however, determined to change this attachment, as necessary to the military discipline he proposed to introduce, set himself the example by actually mounting upon a bare-backed horse. The sudden transition from a lofty seat, where the limbs were confined and fixed to the horse by a wooden frame, and the foot supported by a firm pressure on a broad stirrup like a fire-shovel, to the sharp spine of a beast without either saddle or stirrup, was scarcely tolerable, and the Sultan was several times in danger of breaking his neck from the experiment. He persevered, however, in his attempts, regardless of suffering and personal risk, and he not only has become himself an admirable European horseman, but he has inspired his Oriental subjects with a strong desire to imitate him. The cavalry, which formerly resembled a horde of Tartars, had now the appearance of regular squadrons, though, like the infantry, they had much personal difficulty to overcome. A short stirrup is congenial and in keeping with the other

habits of a Turk. When he sits, his legs are not pendant, but turned under him, and his old saddle nearly preserved him in the same position as he occupied at his ease on his divan; besides it was nearly impossible for him to lose his seat, as his legs were retained as firmly as in stocks, and he could only fall when his horse fell under him. His first sensations, therefore, in his new position, with his legs stretched down, were those of discomfort and insecurity; he looked as awkward as a tailor riding to Brentford, and as alarmed as if he was every moment falling off.

But by far the most important and extraordinary innovation on Turkish ignorance and approach to the feelings and habits of a European people, was the establishment of a newspaper in Constantinople. It was a proof that public opinion was even there becoming a rule of direction to the government, and that mystery and deception, the springs by which despotism and ignorance were moved, had at length given way to a free and general communication to the people, on subjects in which their own interests were most concerned.

It had been the practice in former times to record, at the end of every thirty years, all the events which had occurred in the interval, and to make them public, and thus the works of Naima, Raaschid, and other historiographers, appeared; but nothing like a gazette, announcing at the moment events that were passing or contemplated, had ever been seen in the Turkish empire till the commencement of the Greek revolution. Then it was that the Σαλπιγξ Ἑλληνικη, or "Grecian Trumpet," was blown, and the first sound of a European gazette was heard among the vassals of the Sultan. This was followed by a newspaper set up at Smyrna, apparently in opposition to it, and to advocate the cause of the Turks. This was called "Le Spectateur Oriental,"

and was first published in March, 1821. It was edited by a M. Tricot, who had formerly been attached to the French consulate at Constantinople, but was then a clerk in a merchant's office at Smyrna. This miserable gazette contained, besides vapid enigmas and other trifles, abuse and misrepresentation of the cause of the Greeks, and most exaggerated details of the wisdom, humanity, justice, and success of the Turks. It was considered the organ of the Holy Alliance, and a feeble engine set up by them to extinguish the cause of the Greeks in the East. As the cause advanced, however, its adversary retrograded, till at length it ceased, and was succeeded in 1824 by a somewhat better paper, called "Le Smyrneen," edited by M. Roux, who had been a schoolmaster, and was better qualified by education than his predecessor. He sometimes ventured on paragraphs more liberal and intelligent; but whenever anything of the kind appeared, the corps diplomatique at Constantinople took the alarm, and the editor was reprimanded accordingly.

The influence on public opinion in the East even of this paper determined the Turkish government to adopt the extraordinary expedient of publishing one for themselves, and a M. Blaque, then the editor, was sent for to conduct a similar paper in the capital. The precursor of the newspaper was a bulletin, containing an account of an expedition of Daud Pasha of Bagdad, and this, I believe, was the first printed detail of passing events ever issued by the government of Turkey for the information of the people.

On the 13th of October, 1831, a prospectus of the intended newspaper was issued, printed both in French and Turkish. It stated, "that it was the sincere desire of the Sultan to assure the public tranquillity, and deliver his

people from those suspicions and vain fears which false reports and idle speculations always engender; that ignorance was the cause of distrust and opposition, for men were ever disposed to set themselves against that of whose cause or object they were not informed, and ready to attribute measures to motives entirely different from those which actuated the government." After this extraordinary and most unexpected concession to public opinion, it goes on to state, that a conference had been held to take the matter into consideration, and that it was determined that the people should be henceforth informed in a prompt and efficient manner of all circumstances, domestic and foreign, which related to the Turkish government, and the political communications should be accompanied by whatever intelligence could enlighten the public mind, new inventions, commercial transactions, and all other objects of public utility.

In order to reconcile a multitude of persons who earn a livelihood by copying the Koran, and afford them an additional means of subsistence, it was at first supposed that the infant gazette would be published in manuscript, as all the Turkish edicts and placards are; but the exceeding labour and inconvenience of such a thing soon caused the idea to be abandoned, and a printing-office was established in the neighbourhood of the Seraskier's palace, expressly and exclusively for the newspaper. Sheikzade Esseid Mehmet Effendi, a learned mollah of Mecca, and the historian and poet of the empire, was appointed to superintend and direct it. All the political news was every day sent to him by the ministers of the Porte, and all military details by the Seraskier.

On Saturday the 5th of November, 1831, this phenomenon, called Taakvimi Veekai, or the "Tablet of Events,"

first appeared in the Turkish capital, and has ever since been regularly published. In order to give it more extensive circulation, every pasha in the empire is obliged to subscribe for a certain number of copies for the information of the people of his pashalik, among whom they are distributed. It is printed in two folio sheets, in Turkish and in French; the latter is called the "Moniteur Oriental." The one is read by the natives and rayas, and the other by the Franks. It is issued with great exactness, and every Saturday morning it is sent up with our breakfast as regularly as a weekly paper in London. The Sultan takes great interest in it, reads it regularly, and is himself a contributor to it, writing sometimes the leading article.

The contents of the paper are usually as follow:—They commence with Constantinople, and the concerns of the Turkish empire. The principal details are those of the army and navy, their movements and the change of officers, with bulletins of actions by land or sea, fairly given, without much pompous orientalism. Then follow civil affairs, events of the provinces, with always a favourable view of things, and an eulogium on the Sultan's measures for the good of the people. Then succeed news of other countries, with sometimes extracts from the debates of the French Chamber of Deputies and the English Parliament, in which latter Mr. O'Connell cuts a conspicuous figure. One could hardly imagine that violent democratic language would be permitted in a Turkish paper; as yet, however, it is harmless, for the people don ot understand it. But the most extraordinary communication is a kind of budget, in which the receipts of public money are given, the expenditure accounted for, with an accuracy of detail in piastres and paras, that would

please Mr. Hume. This is a thing before unheard of in Tuskish policy, where public money was a mystery, and everything concerning it kept secret, both in its collection and expenditure. These subjects are varied with accounts of useful inventions, elementary sketches of the arts, and sciences, and sometimes pleasing and instructive stories.

The Turks, when this newspaper first appeared, had no conception of any amusement to be derived from such a thing; but, like children, when their curiosity was once excited, it knew no bounds. The publication of the news of the empire in this way soon became of universal attraction. The paper made its way to the coffeehouses, and the same Turk that I had noticed before dozing, half stupified with coffee and tobacco, I now saw actually awake, with the paper in his hand, eagerly spelling out the news. But the most usual mode of communicating it are news-rooms, and a place is taken where those who wish to hear it assemble. A stool is placed in the centre, on which the man who can read sits, and others form a circle round him and listen. The attention paid is very different from that which I saw them give to a story-teller. There was no mirth or laughter excited, but all seemed to listen with profound attention, interrupted only sometimes by a grave ejaculation of "Inshallah," or "Allah Keerim." The first thing a Turk of any consequence is anxious to know is, whether he has been mentioned, and what is said of him, and in this he shows a sensitiveness even superior to a Londoner or a Parisian, because, as the Sultan is the virtual editor, his opinion of a man is of some importance.

The rayas of the empire soon caught the spirit of such a publication, and were delighted with the permission to imitate it. The Greek Patriarch I found was my venerable friend the Archbishop of Mount Sinai, whom I had

left at his Patmos in the island of Antigone, expecting every moment to be led from thence to execution. By one of those sudden and common transitions of fortune in the East, he was taken from his obscurity and placed on the Patriarchal throne, where he sat when I visited him on my arrival, and found him no ways altered in simplicity of manner or kindness of disposition. As he was a man of letters, and anxious to promote literature in any way, he gladly entered upon the undertaking, and addressed a circular to the clergy and laity of the orthodox church on the subject, stating that a journal calculated to ameliorate and improve the social condition had already appeared in the capital, putting it in the power of every man to acquaint himself accurately with passing events, and that the Sultan had permitted to the Greeks the same indulgence. This was followed by a similar address from the Armenian Patriarch; and in a short time four journals appeared every week in the capital from the different nations which compose its population, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Franks, written in their respective languages.

But the most important and extraordinary revolution which had taken place since my former visit was that which was effected in the Sultan himself. As a Turk does every thing different from a European, so was the change of this man's character. The sovereigns of ancient Rome generally commenced their reigns by a fair and flattering prospect of moderation and virtue, and they terminated by becoming monsters of cruelty and injustice. From the details I have given you of the former life of the Sultan, you will suppose he commenced as the Romans terminated, and from what I am now about to tell you you will conclude that he will end as they began. I give things as they happen, and at the time they occur, and such has been the rapid muta-

tions here, that you hardly recognise the past and present picture of the same persons or things. The French formerly said, *Dans l'ori enton ne change jamais,* they now say, *Tout cela est changé.*

A ruthless and unsparing cruelty seemed the most prominent feature in his former character; he now gives every day proofs of a humane and kindly disposition. On my last arrival at Constantinople the Turks were greatly alarmed at the progress of an insurrection in Albania, where it spread so rapidly that the insurgents had advanced towards the capital as far as Sophia and Adrianople, to cooperate with the discontented of the city. By a sudden change in the fortunes of war, Izzid Hussein Pasha set fire to the fortress of Scutari, and Mustapha, the unfortunate Pasha of Scodra, who had raised the insurrection, fell into his hands, and was sent to Constantinople to meet his fate. As this insurrection was supposed to be connected with the janissaries, and had excited considerable apprehension, which had not yet subsided, it was expected the Pasha would be made an awful example of. After some days he was ordered to attend the Sultan at his palace of Beshiktash. He was accompanied by a large escort of cavalry, and attended by other pashas; but as the Turks, when they intend a man's destruction, treat him with more than usual show of kindness, it was considered that all this display was a certain announcement of the man's immediate execution. The hall was oped to the public, and when he entered a crowd entered with him and ranged along the walls. He came forward holding his little son, a fine boy about six years old, by the hand. He appeared a large and comely man, and seemed to excite a good deal of sympathy, particularly so as he was accompanied by the executioner with his drawn scimitar. The Sultan was known to be above, looking on

from a balcony; his secretary, Mustapha, sat below at a desk; and in the midst stood the delinquent pasha, with his arms folded across his breast, and it was every moment expected that a horizontal movement of the hand of the Sultan would cause his head to roll on the floor. The sign was not given, and he was invited to sit on the divan, which is generally the position in which a man is strangled. He was presented with coffee, but his hand so shook that he spilled it over his robe and dropped the cup. A chouash now advanced, and all eyes were fixed on him but, instead of producing a bow-string, he drew from his bosom a gold watch and chain, and presented it to the boy as a present from the Sultan. The child placed it in his girdle, and looked exceedingly delighted when he showed it to his father. He was now informed by Mustapha that the Sultan wished to attach him as a friend rather than punish him as an enemy, and that, as he had no residence at Constantinople, a suitable one was provided for him. He then retired to a splendid caique waiting on him in the Bosphorus, and left the hall with his head on, very much to his own and the astonishment of the spectators, and to the disappointment of the executioner, who complained that he was defrauded of his due. Similar clemency was shown at the same time to Daud, the rebellious pasha of Bagdad, and they were the subjects of conversation as the almost incredible deeds of the hitherto ruthless man.

He had shown a determination to support slavery in its most unmitigated form, and had authorised the making and selling of slaves in a manner almost unknown in Turkish history. He now endeavoured to atone for it in a way equally unprecedented. In the year 1830 he issued a decree which, in its future importance, may be considered as the first step to the abolition of slavery in Turkey. It de-

clared that all Greeks who had become bondsmen in consequence of the insurrection should be restored to liberty; and in order that they might be enabled to return home, that their masters should supply them with money for the purpose. This decree, so novel in its character from any thing known, I believe, in Turkish annals, is still marked by one of those clauses which indicate that the Sultan has not yet been able to emancipate himself from the control of national prejudice. From the slaves so liberated are excepted all who had embraced the Mahomedan religion. It directs that "they shall be carefully watched in order that they do not escape, and severely punished by the laws of the empire if they should attempt it." It was known that the majority of those poor slaves had been compelled to submit to Turkish rites, and yet the vengeance of Turkish law is denounced against them if they apostatize from this compulsory conversion*.

Another distinguishing trait in his character was his insatiable avarice. He seized without scruple or remorse on the property of all those who had fallen under his displeasure, and several executions were said to be perpetrated for no purpose or reason but that of confiscation. Incidents now daily occurred which displayed a very different character indeed. After the massacre and destruction of the island of Scio all the property was confiscated to the crown, and was producing a revenue of two hundred and twenty thousand piastres, as the island slowly recovered from its desolation; but on the representation of the people the Sultan agreed to receive a thousand purses as an indemnity, and restore the land to the surviving proprietors. When the money was brought, he confirmed the lands by a public decree to the possessors, in order to substantiate their own

* See Appendix, No. IX.

claims, and, in the event of their death, those of their children. He then restored to them the purchase-money, telling them to lay it out in the improvement of the land as they should think best. On this occasion the scattered Sciotes returned to their island. Many of them assembled at Constantinople in January, 1832, and in conformity with the new order of things in the empire, gave a public dinner, to which the Patriarch and other eminent persons, both Greeks and Turks, were invited. It was conducted like a public dinner in England on a similar occasion. When the cloth was removed a round of healths succeeded, which were duly taken down. They commenced with the Sultan as we do with the King, and a report of the whole proceeding was next day published in the newspapers of the capital.

The implacable animosity with which he pursued the revolted Greeks was unrestrained by reason or principle, and it was imagined that no security would ever after exist for any part of that nation that remained in his power. When their pardon was sealed, and he proposed a reconciliation with them, he strictly adhered to it without reservation. He showed no lingering ill-will, and never availed himself of any pretext to persecute them. Those who had rendered themselves independent were as much favoured as if they had never been revolted Turkish subjects. When I left Constantinople the unfortunate Greeks were in a state of miserable alarm and depression, seldom appearing abroad, and when they did they seemed to shrink from notice, and walked along with that look of suspicion and alarm which intimated very truly the state of insecurity and suspicion under which they laboured. On my return I found them as noisy, active, and gay as ever. There was a careless confidence about them, as if they felt a perfect assurance of protection, and in many instances they seemed to beard the

Turks, and stand upon a right of taking the wall of them in the streets. Shortly after my arrival was the festival of the appearance of Constantine's Cross. I had never before seen them make any great display on this occasion. They were now dancing through the streets in their best clothes, every group preceded by music. They then retired to the wine-houses, which they filled with shouting and laughter. The contrast of the state in which I left and found them was very striking.

CHAPTER XI.

Repair of Churches—Cross of Constantine—Singular display of Christian Standard—Sultan's conduct to Foreigners—Barbarous Usages abolished—Seven Towers—Presents—Mode of Presentation—Portrait Painting—Medical Lectures—Cure of Lunatics—Vaccination—Establishment of Quarantine—Precautions against Cholera—Resellay—Appointment of Pashas—Administration of Justice—Confiscation of Property—Derebeys—Ulema—Sultan's Domestic Habits—Favourite Mustapha—Voyage of beneficence—Popularity—Estimation of his Reforms.

On a representation to the Sultan of the dilapidated state in which the Greek churches had been left since the commencement of the insurrection, he issued a firman, 1831, which contained the following passage:—"It is our constant desire that all the Rayas that repose under the shade of Islamism and our sense of justice, should enjoy perfect protection, free from all interruption and disquietude: our good will is, in this respect, not limited to narrow bounds, and our solicitude is always that they should feel perfect tranquillity, and advance in prosperity." This declaration was followed up by substantial proofs of sincerity.

The difficulty of repairing Christian churches under the old regime was very great. It was necessary first to memorial the Mufti, who afterwards reported to the Sultan, who then granted the required permission. Should any Christian Raya presume to repair a church without it, he was subject to the severest penalties. The intolerable exactions and oppressions of this system caused many of the religious edifices to fall into ruins. The churches dilapidated by the Turks remained in the same state, no permission could be

obtained to repair them. I could not remove the tomb of our first ambassador at Chalki, because it was in the wall of a convent, and so, constituting a part of a Christian edifice, could not be stirred. A poor priest of Galata at the time of the plague whitewashed his cell, as a precaution against infection. A Turk of his acquaintance, having heard of this unauthorised proceeding, paid him a visit. He sat down purposely with his back to the wall, and when he found it marked with the whitewash, he accused the poor priest of violating the law, and obliged him to pay five hundred piastres to avoid the prison of the Bostangee Bashi. The Archbishop of Mount Sinai has a convent at the Fanal, where he wished to put up a few stakes to support a trailing vine, and they were erected. The Turks came to a knowledge of this; and he told me he was obliged to pay four hundred piastres for daring to prop his vine. In another religious house the monks were washing some linen, and the water, whitened with soap and starch, left a stain. The cadi was informed of the fact: he immediately came, insisted the monks had been using lime without a firman, and fined them five thousand piastres. The Sultan not only put an end to those oppressions and exactions, but he at once issued a firman giving orders for the immediate repair of every Christian church that stood in need of it, amounting to thirty-six Armenian and twenty-nine Greek places of worship. In fact, as if to compensate for his former severity, he showed a degree of kindness and attachment to the Christian Rayas that gave rise to strange rumours. It was affirmed that, like another Constantine, he was about to embrace the religion of the persecuted sect, and an odd circumstance gave countenance to the report.

The appearance of the Cross of Constantine is held in high veneration by the Greek church, which has appointed the

19th of May in their calendar as a solemn festival to commemorate it*. The Latin church has also adopted the belief, notwithstanding their repugnance to any Oriental miracle. It is true that Basnage and some incredulous persons deny it, and Fabricius and others attempt to account for it by natural causes; but an Irishman of the name of Cullen, a member of the Propaganda at Rome, in one of his two hundred and twenty-four theses, has refuted all these objections, and concludes by observing, "Maximè falluntur qui negant Constantinum crucis signum cœlitus objectum vidisse."

When I was in France in the year 1826 a curious phenomenon appeared at Mignè, in the vicinity of Poitiers. On Sunday, the 17th of December, while the clergy were in the exercise of the jubilee preceding Christmas, a splendid cross appeared in the sky, over the parish church, and was witnessed by above three thousand persons, who were assembled from the neighbouring parishes. A representation was made, commissioners were sent down from Paris to inquire into the fact, and they reported, on due examination of witnesses, that a cross one hundred and forty feet in length, and exactly similar to that of Constantine, did appear in the heavens, and continued so long and so distinctly visible that there could be no deception in it;—and no doubt some meteoric phenomenon did assume that appearance in the sky.

The Greeks of Constantinople, in January, 1832, revived the story. A report was made to the Patriarch that a cross similar to that of Constantine was seen in the sky by a number of persons at the same moment, suspended just over the dome of Santa Sophia, and it caused considerable excitement. I could never find out a person who actually

* It is called, "Η ἀνάμνησις τοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ φανέντος σημείου τοῦ Ἁγίου Σταυροῦ ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνου ἐν ἔτει 346.

saw it himself, but numbers assured me that they had conversed with those who had seen it, and were firmly convinced of the fact; and I have myself seen such optical deceptions from atmospheric changes at Constantinople, that I have no doubt such a thing did appear, which the heated imaginations of the Greeks readily converted into the object to which it bore some resemblance. But its moral effects were still more striking. The Greeks believed it to be one of those particular appearances that shadowed out coming events. They eagerly propagated a report that the Sultan was actually about to read his recantation and become a Christian, and they adopted an extraordinary expedient to give a colour to it.

In one of those naval excursions which the Sultan was in the habit of making at this time, he was attracted by a steam-boat, which had been sent for sale to Constantinople, but which he thought too dear; Casas Aretine, an Armenian, who succeeded to the situation of Mint-master after the execution of the Dusoglus, paid the price of eight hundred thousand piastres out of his own pocket, and the Sultan was agreeably surprised next morning to find the steam-boat moored opposite the Seraglio, waiting his orders. It was commanded by Captain Kelly, an intelligent Scotchman, I believe, who undertook to sail in it, and instruct the Turks in its management. To give an appropriate splendour to the thing, a large flag was made for the occasion, which was displayed at the moment of sailing. A Turk of rank on board came to Captain Kelly in great alarm, drew him on deck, and pointed out to him a singular circumstance. Above floated the broad flag; in the centre was worked a large sun, the emblem of the Turkish empire, but instead of the disc being vacant in the usual way, a large cross was worked on it, from whence rays were issuing

at all sides to enlighten the world. Immediately below stood the Sultan, and crowds who lined the shore to see him depart, gazed on him thus exhibited with a Christian banner waving directly over his head, as if he had now publicly adopted it, like another Constantine, as the labarum, or future standard of the empire. The great deviations of the Sultan from its ancient usages, and his recent good will evinced to his Christian Rayas, caused his enemies to believe, or affect to believe, that he was about to change the religion of the state also, and this display was now supposed to be a confirmation of it. When the unconscious Sultan, however, retired below, Captain Kelly immediately ordered the flag to be pulled down, and inquiries to be made as to how and by whom it had been hoisted there. It then appeared that it had been made at the Arsenal by some Greeks, who, with their usual recklessness, had thought it a good occasion to display their ingenuity, and having enlarged the face of the sun they inserted the cross. The dangerous emblem was immediately ripped out and the flag again hoisted; and when the Sultan stood under it, he was no longer an object of horror and suspicion to his subjects. This trifling circumstance might have been attended with the most serious consequences. In the irritable state of the Turkish populace, the rumour of such a thing as his turning Christian, would be a ready engine in the hands of the discontented to rouse the whole Mahomedan population against him. A report certainly did prevail that his inclinations tended that way, which I found circulated wherever I went.

Nor was his faith less inviolate to Franks than to his Rayas. The Turks were greatly exasperated, particularly at the conduct of the English at the battle of Navarino, and serious apprehensions were naturally entertained that

some reprisals would be made on such of that nation as were found in Turkey, as a fair retaliation for the untoward event, and in fact it was a measure which the civilized nations of Europe had not at times scrupled to adopt; but no such thing occurred, and the merchants who remained behind assured me they never were molested, and lived, as they had done, with a feeling of perfect security, even when the Russians were advancing on the city and their own ambassador had left it. One of them experienced this protection in a remarkable manner. He set out to travel to England by land, and he was obliged to make a detour by Sophia, to avoid detachments of the hostile armies. He and his party had been provided with a safe escort from post to post by the authorities, and when arrived near the frontier, and all danger of stragglers was past, he told the Pasha he would dispense with any further protection, as he had now no fear. "If you have not," said the Pasha, "I have. My life is responsible to the Padisha for yours as long as you continue in my pashalik," so he gave them a safe convoy across the frontiers. When it is considered that the Sultan was at this time sore beset, and it might be supposed he had as little the means of affording protection in so distant a place as they had a right to expect it at his hands, the feeling that dictated it to him is highly creditable.

It ought to be remembered that he has abolished the barbarous practice of sending the ambassadors of foreign states to the Seven Towers when any disagreement occurred between them. This usage, by which one sovereign committed to prison the representative of another, and the person of an ambassador, held sacred by the most barbarous people, was violated, had been a distinctive characteristic of Turkish pride and assumption. The first sultan who had courage

to break through this exercise of Oriental insolence was Selim, the predecessor and, it is said, the instructor of Mahmood while confined together in the Seraglio. He refused to send Italinski to this prison in 1807, and his example was followed up by his cousin. He suffered Strogonoff to depart at the commencement of the Greek revolution, and dismissed with protections ever after such of the ambassadors of the sovereigns of Europe as chose to depart from his capital, when he certainly had very strong provocation to act otherwise.

He has also abolished the barbarous practice of exacting presents from every ambassador. The usage of giving gifts to conciliate favour is of the earliest antiquity in the East. Jacob took a present to his brother Esau, for he said, "I will appease him with a present *." The omission of a present was the cause of suspicion of enmity †. Among the modern Oriental nations the Turks were distinguished for their avidity in this way, as avarice is among their predominant passions, but the pride of their Sultan caused the presents offered to be entered in the archives as tribute. With this custom Elizabeth complied when she sent out Sir E. Barton, as it is recorded in the words of the capitulation that "the queen had sent a noble person with *presents* to this victorious Porte, which is the refuge and retreat of the kings of the world." From that time the custom was continued by every successive European ambassador, either in gifts or money. Mr. Adair, in 1809, brought presents to the amount of 12,130*l.*, ‡ and it became an actual tax on Eng-

* Gen. xxii. 13. † 2 Kings xvii. 4.

‡ The presents consisted of the following articles: A snuff-box for the Grand Vizir, 2,470*l.*; ditto, Capitan Pasha, 1,200*l.*; ditto for two Plenipotentiaries, 2,100*l.*; ditto for two Dragomans, 1,100*l.*; a watch, 420*l.*; ditto, 260*l.*; a dagger, 4,500*l.*

land, producing on an average 5,000 or 6,000*l.* to the Turkish government on every change of embassy. The manner in which these presents were disposed of was a proof of the estimation in which they were held. They consisted of jewels, snuff-boxes, and other articles presented to the Sultan, Grand Vizir, Reis Effendi, and other officers. These things were made by Rundle and Bridge, jewellers to the king, who had an agent at Constantinople to repurchase them. Instead of being retained by the persons to whom they were presented as honorary distinctions, which they would be fond to keep and display, the agent was immediately sent for, and frequently, on the very day on which they were given, a bargain was made, and the article was bought and sent back to London, where it was a little altered in the setting, repurchased by government, and again presented by the next ambassador; so that the same article has gone through this process several times. This disgraceful tribute the Sultan consented to abolish. The British minister at the Porte proposed it, it was met in a free and liberal spirit, and an Oriental usage which existed from the remotest ages, and which was supposed to be indispensable in the intercourse with other nations, was at once given up without any objection, and the profit as well as the assumption of superiority for ever abandoned.

I stated to you the manner of the presentation of ambassadors, and detailed particulars, because I thought it was likely to be the last of its kind. My anticipation has been realised. On the late arrival of Sir Stratford Canning everything was conducted as in Europe. The Sultan was dressed in his red fez, a military cloak thrown over his shoulders and buttoned at the neck, with pantaloons and military boots, and he held in his hand a sabre. The gentlemen of the Ambassador's suite were presented and received as in

Europe. One of their names happening to sound like a Turkish word of no very delicate meaning, the Sultan was much amused, and repeated it several times as a good joke. This play upon words he is fond of, and punning is another extraordinary approximation of a Turk to European propensities. The very coffee had undergone a metamorphose. It was not served in a little cup, with the grounds like stewed soot, but poured clear from a silver pot, and presented with a basin of lump sugar, and a tongs to help it. When you contrast the urbanity and cheerful ease of the Sultan, and the polished and civilized ceremony on this, with the truculent manner of the man and the gloomy barbarism of his display on the former occasion, you will admit that a surprising revolution has been effected in the course of a very few years.

His encouragement of the arts is another revolutionary trait in his character. There had been in the Seraglio a series of portraits of all the Sultans, which Selim for the first time had permitted to be copied. The drawings were sent to London to the Turkish agent, Ramadeni, who caused engravings to be made from them by an English artist. It was Selim's intention to give them as presents to his friends, but his death prevented the execution of the project. His successor, Mustapha, exacted that they should all be given up; and it was reported they were destroyed, lest the idolatrous exhibition of the human face should offend the orthodox janissaries. Mahmood has altogether conquered his reluctance to violate the commandment in this way, and has had his own likeness several times represented by different artists. He was very difficult to please, but a Neapolitan succeeded so well that he had several copies of the portrait made, which he presented to the different ambassadors. He sat with great patience for several hours at a time.

He continually asked the artist, was he at his nose, or lips, or beard, and when he was informed, he always endeavoured to put the features in the best position. A young Armenian was present, who acted as interpreter, and through him he conversed freely with the artist, asked him the news, and when he informed him the Poles had beaten the Russians, he expressed much pleasure. The boy grew fatigued with standing, and retired behind to lean against the wall; the Sultan cast several suspicious glances at him, and directed him to stand in front, but seeing him tired, he good-naturedly ordered him a seat. This was an urbanity and act of kindness, which I believe no other sovereign in Europe would have condescended to show to a tired attendant. The Mufti, it was said, was at first strongly opposed to this portrait painting as an innovation on the laws of Islamism, but the Sultan was peremptory, and the opposition was withdrawn; and it was reported he was about to appoint the artist painter to the Seraglio, and establish it as a permanent office of state.

This senseless repugnance to copy the human figure had been a great impediment to improvement in more important matters. Turkish prejudice is so strong against dissection that the law says, if a man swallowed a precious jewel, and he died with it in his stomach, it would not be allowable to extract it, even though it was the property of another, and the person had swallowed it to conceal it. The only mode therefore of conveying any knowledge of anatomy was by plates, but these also were prohibited as parts of the human form. But the Sultan not only permitted, but sanctioned, at his press at Scutari, just before my arrival, the printing of a treatise on anatomy, illustrated with plates, depicting with tolerable accuracy the different members and parts of the human body, for the use of students in

anatomy; and in order that it might be applied immediately to a useful purpose, he founded a school of surgery and medicine which had long occupied his mind.

Dr. Sat Desgalliers, a Frenchman, who had acquired some reputation in his profession, was appointed professor, and the school was opened for medical students on the 8th of January, 1832, forming a memorable era in the annals of Turkey. The manner in which it was conducted was highly characteristic of the state of the science among the people. There could not be found in the empire a native hakim who could deliver a lecture upon the subject of his own profession, and the foreign professor could not speak Turkish. I was curious to see how he managed, and as he was of my acquaintance, I accompanied him one day to hear his lecture. I found about two hundred pupils in attendance, and among them was the Hakim Bashi, or chief physician to the Seraglio, who came also to take a lesson by the Sultan's orders. The professor addressed them in French, of which not one of them understood a word, but Namik Bey, a Turkish officer, who understood and could speak the language perfectly, undertook to be interpreter, and followed the lecturer in Turkish with great facility and fluency. The subject was descriptive anatomy, which he explained by plates. He informed me the Sultan had no objection to the dissection of human subjects; that it had been performed in private, and would become a part of the public course when the prejudices of the people were sufficiently reconciled to it. His lectures also embraced in the season the materia medica, surgical treatment of wounds, and medical treatment of diseases, and concluded with clinical lectures, and the practical application of his directions to actual patients. The students were principally intended as medical officers to the army.

The Lunatics had attracted the Sultan's notice and excited his sympathy in a high degree. He visited the Timar Hannai, and saw the awful state in which human beings were kept in that asylum, and at once directed that they should be no longer considered as under the sacred hand of God, but susceptible of treatment like any other beings affected with distemper. The institution was put under the care of the new school of medicine, and the Hakim Bashi was ordered to carry their directions into immediate effect. An Hungarian physician, well acquainted with the improved treatment of lunatics in Europe, was appointed to superintend it, and three pupils of medicine and surgery were ordered to attend it three times a week, and treat the patients according to the best European system of concession and kindness. It remains to be seen whether the improved treatment in this disease will be more successful with a Turkish lunatic, than that of the fearful coercion to which the patients were before subject.

But perhaps the most decided evidence of his bursting through the restraints of superstition and religious prejudice are the precautions that he has taken with respect to infectious or contagious diseases, and the strongest proof of the almost hopeless attempt at reforming the Turks was that they had so long and so inveterately opposed them. The Turks were decidedly hostile to vaccination, on the principle that it was impious to take any precaution against whatever disorder it pleased Allah to send, and among the number of Greeks whom I vaccinated I never could persuade a Turk to submit his child to the operation. But in April, 1825, Abdul Hamed, the eldest son of the Sultan, died of the small-pox. The janissaries had an intention to depose his father and set him on the throne at a competent age, and when their object was disappointed by his premature death,

they spread a report that he was poisoned by his own father to anticipate their intentions. The anxious parent, however, immediately sent for a Frank physician and had the remainder of his children vaccinated by him, and so by his example introduced it among the people. To aid his views he endeavoured to persuade them that the process is not a prophylactic but a therapeutic, not intended as a preventive to a coming disease, but as a cure to one which always exists in the human constitution, and the Turks are satisfied with the argument, and are beginning to submit to the operation.

The next conquest over religious prejudices was taking precautions against the plague. They had carried their convictions of its sinfulness to such an extreme that, in the year 1812, when the disorder ravaged the city, they would not suffer prayers to be offered up in the mosques to stay it, till one thousand persons were carried daily out of the Top Kapousi Gate to be buried, deeming even that a murmuring against Providence, and a want of due submission to its decrees. But after the late Russian campaign they began seriously to consider the absurdity of those opinions, and attend to the regulations enjoined by the Sultan. An energetic pasha, seeing the plague break out in his district, drew a cordon round a village where it was raging, and suffered no one to pass either in or out on any pretence. After some time everything was silent, and on examination it was found that the whole population was dead in their houses, but the disease never extended beyond the spot where this frightful precautionary sacrifice was made.

Availing himself of the impression which these and similar occurrences had made on the people, the Sultan caused application to be made to the British Minister at Constantinople for a plan of a lazaretto to be established in Turkey on European principles, with a view to prevent the intro-

duction of the disease from abroad. This application was despatched to England, and orders were sent to Malta, that a plan of the Lazaretto of that place should be forwarded to the Turkish Government. This institution, however, was liable to many objections. It had been erected by the Knights at a time when the island had no commerce, and when the thing was imperfectly understood, so it was determined to draw up a new plan on the most improved system, in which all that was excellent should be embodied. The direction of the whole was given to Captain Schembri, a native of Malta, who had been particularly active and efficient when the plague had ravaged the island in 1813, and had continued to superintend the quarantine for twenty years since that period. With this intelligent man and on his benevolent mission I sailed from Malta, and we arrived at Pera on the 1st of May, 1831. His plan was submitted to the Sultan, and highly approved of. It embraced the establishment of quarantine offices and lazarettos on the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, and all the maritime towns on the coasts of Asia and Europe, with a board of health to organise a sanatory police, to watch the introduction and appearance of the disease, and take immediate precautions. The lazaretto to be built for the capital is intended to be a noble edifice, seven hundred feet in length, in an airy and pleasant situation on the shores of the Bosphorus, and on such a plan that it will present to the view an elegant and cheerful abode, calculated rather to inspire pleasing thoughts than those dismal and depressing reflections, excited by other gloomy lazarettos, which, by sinking the mind, predispose the body to any complaint. The expense of the establishment is estimated at 20,000*l*. When this is finished it will probably be the completest institution of the kind that ever was in the world, and it is not impossible that

European nations may hereafter adopt this quarantine establishment of the Sultan for their model, and so take their plans for the future prevention of the plague from a people who for centuries obstinately persisted in allowing no precautions to be taken. The value of this most important innovation will be appreciated, by considering that at present the European nations have drawn a vast cordon of perhaps ten thousand miles by sea and land round the Turkish empire, forming a barrier through which no one is allowed immediately to pass, under the penalty of death; but when precautions similar to those of Europe are adopted in this country also, the Turks will no longer be an excluded people, but the intercourse will become as free as between one European nation and another, a great obstacle will thus be removed to their amalgamation with us, and they will no longer continue to be a distinct and separate people.

The cholera was another of those diseases which called forth the energy of the Sultan to break through Turkish ignorance and prejudice. During my first residence at Constantinople this disease had travelled from India as far as Bagdad, and we were daily expecting, with undefined sensations of alarm, that it would take us in its way. An English gentleman had died of it there, and his books and other effects came to Constantinople, and there was a general apprehension that this frightful disease had come along with them. It, however, took another direction, and proceeded by the Volga to Russia, and it was not till eight or nine years afterwards that it visited Turkey from that country. Shortly after my arrival I was called on to attend a sailor who had been brought sick from Odessa. He died in a few days, and I went to bury him. While following the coffin at his funeral I came by a fountain where a number of sacgees were filling their leather vessels with water. Just as I passed,

one of them, a robust man, while lifting his sack, was seized with a sudden spasm, fell against me, with his knees drawn up to his chin in a strange manner, and in writhing on the ground entangled his feet in mine. The Turks stared as at some extraordinary sight they could not account for. He was taken up, brought into a coffeehouse, where he died in a few hours. It was said that the man I had buried had died of cholera, which he brought with him from Russia, and it was rumoured afterwards that his passing body had suddenly communicated infection to the Turk. Be this as it may, he was, I believe, the first Turk that had been seized with the disease, and his case was therefore the first explosion of it in the city. From this day it spread rapidly; the shipping in the harbour were generally infected; the Franks, who enjoyed a kind of exception from the plague, felt no security against this, and the alarm was universal.

The Sultan on this occasion was not inactive. He immediately directed the Hakim Bashi, Bethzet Effendi, after consulting with the Frank doctors, to draw up certain directions, both of prevention and cure, for the use of the Turks. These were published in a pamphlet book printed at the Imperial Press, and several thousand copies were distributed to the different functionaries and others in all quarters of the city and its vicinity. This treatise, called "Resellay," was issued on the 1st of August, 1831, and a copy of it was put into my hand immediately after, which I had translated. It begins with a history of the disease, proceeds to its symptoms, and ends with precautionary measures, and mode of treatment. Among the first are, to avoid all contact with persons known or suspected to have it, and among the second to bleed instantly and copiously. In fact, it is a popular, well-written, rational tract, not inferior in intelligence and good sense to any which have appeared

in the other capitals of Europe on a similar occasion. The manner in which it was attended to, is a curious picture of the state of intellect of the people to whom it was addressed. Quarantine stations were marked out, and officers appointed to carry into effect the regulations. Some friends of mine arrived from Smyrna, but were allowed to land without any delay. Next day an officer of the establishment called on them, and told them they must return and perform their quarantine. It was in vain they represented to him that any evil was already past remedy, for, if they had brought the disease, they had already communicated it over the city —they were obliged to return; but, after a few hours detention, were again dismissed. The inhabitants of several villages on the Bosphorus passed from the extreme of the apathy of fatalism to the highest excitement of alarm. At Buyukderé I met a man in the streets who, I found, was reported to have the cholera. The Turks ran into their houses, shut the doors, and the solitary and awful man stalked through the deserted streets, nor did any one appear while he remained. At Kadikui, people affected with the smallest ailment, even a toothache, were compelled to leave the town, and the hummals or porters who removed their furniture were tied by the arms, and dragged through the sea till they were nearly drowned, to wash off the contagion they were supposed to contract.

His political reforms were more difficult, because he had power to contend with, as well as prejudice and ignorance. His first innovation was in the divan. It had been the usage for the Sultan to abstain from all personal contact with his subjects, as being too familiar, and weakening that awful and mysterious respect which some remote and invisible being should possess. The Sultan, therefore, always sent in his opinion and dictation in writing, never conde-

scending to a personal communication; but Mahmood now sits in council with the members, gives his opinion, and encourages others to do the same, and thus approximates to a certain form of debate and freedom of opinion and language.

Among the grievances of Turkish government was the frequent removal of pashas. At the Beiram it was usual to make those alterations, so that every year the whole provincial government was changed. The cause of this was cupidity, as every governor purchased his place, and the consequence was an intolerable system of extortion and oppression, that the governor might remunerate himself during the short period of his authority. But the Sultan put an effectual check to this, by refusing himself any fees on a new appointment, and sternly inhibiting all his attendants from receiving them. Those clouds of Tartars that I had met in Asia, the harbingers of life and death every year to distant pashas, are no longer seen on their mortal errands. A pasha is now removed only on a serious and well-proved case of his unfitness or delinquency in his office, and he is replaced, not by him that gives most, but by him that appears best to deserve it.

Formerly every governor was a feudal baron, who had absolute power of jurisdiction over the life and death of all in his pashalik, and the wave of his hand was sufficient to decide the fate of any man. One of the first acts of the Sultan, when he found himself a free agent, was a firman directed to the muzzellims, agas and pashas, that they should not presume to inflict themselves the punishment of death on any man, whether Raya or Turk, unless authorised by a legal sentence pronounced by the cadi, and regularly signed by the judge. Even then an appeal is allowed to the criminal to one of the Cadiliskars of Asia or Europe, and finally

to the Sultan himself, if the criminal chooses to persist in his appeal.

By the ancient laws of the empire, the officers of the Seraglio were the slaves of the Sultan, and to whatever rank they attained, they were still considered to exist in that relation; to be incapable of acquiring personal property; and their wives, children, and fortune, as well as themselves, were at all times at the disposal of their master. Though the strict interpretation of this relative connexion was no longer recognised, and men undertook offices who were not and never had been slaves, yet the origin of the notion still continued to operate; the functionary was put to death the moment he displeased his master, and his property was taken possession of by the Sultan, as if the man was still his bondsman. But Mahmood has relinquished those claims. He no longer declares himself the heir of executed men in office, and so is no longer influenced by a sordid motive to put them to death. He has thus made a personal sacrifice both of power and interest, and voluntarily destroyed the foundation of that monstrous despotism, which supposed him the absolute master of the lives and properties of all his subjects.

The Turkish system is so far republican in spirit, that rank and title are merely personal, and no man has any hereditary claim to them; and this is carried so far, that when a man is raised by his merit, he carries with him the name of his trade, and the late Bey of Constantinople was called Achmet Papoosgee, because he had been a maker of slippers; yet there were some exceptions to those rules, particularly in the Asiatic portion of the empire. Here there were certain privileged noblemen, called Derebeys, which literally means "Lords of the Valleys." They had submitted to Turkish rule on terms, and held their districts by

feudal tenure. One or two of these lords of the valleys were estimable men, and continued by inheritance a kind of hereditary excellence from father to son. The family of Car Osman Oglu was long known in Asia Minor, and all travellers speak of them as improvers of the country, and conferring a blessing on the district over which they presided. The rest were, like all the offspring of such a system, petty despots, abusing the power conferred upon them by the most cruel and arbitrary acts, which human nature always indulges in when it has perfect impunity, and is not responsible to any tribunal but its own will. To break down the power, and render amenable to the general laws of the empire those feudal tyrants, was a difficult task, which none but a man of the Sultan's energy could attempt, or of his sagacity could accomplish. While yet the terror of his destruction of the janissaries filled every mind, he availed himself of it to limit the authority of those independent vassals. Some of them had the means of assembling, in a short time, an army of ten thousand cavalry, which held feudal tenures under them; but they submitted quietly to the new order of things, and their power is annihilated as completely as that of the janissaries. In rendering harmless those dangerous and influential men, they were not put to death, and so extirpated: the Sultan invited the most distinguished to the capital, and appointed them to places of honour and profit. Here they engaged in projects useful to the state, One of the family of Car Osman Oglu made considerable progress in the study of mechanics, particularly naval architecture, and expended large sums in completing a ship of war.

But the body of all others that he found most difficult to contend with was the Ulema. The civil and religious code of the Turks is blended together, like that of the ancient

Jews, and the precepts of the Koran are as inviolable as those of the Pentateuch, for both are founded on Divine authority. The Ulema are the great body emanating from this union, and combine in their own persons the priesthood and the magistracy. Among other immunities which they enjoy, their goods are exempted from confiscation, and themselves from capital punishment, and they keep alive that much abused ecclesiastical privilege in Turkey, so long exploded in every European country. By an obsolete law, however, any of the Ulema, and even the Mufti, could be put to death by being pounded in a mortar. Such an implement of punishment did actually exist in Turkey, and Sultan Osman found no method effectual to bring them to order, but by digging up the mortar which had been buried and disused for some time, and the sight of this instrument soon reduced both the head and body of the Ulema to reason. It was at one time reported that Mahmood intended to follow his example, and that the actual mortar was to be seen exposed in the court of the Seraglio ; but when I prepared to go over and witness myself this extraordinary sight, I learned that it was not to be seen, and perhaps had not been exhibited, though the character of the Sultan rendered it highly probable.

The ascendency which this powerful body has over the minds and opinions of the Turks, from a feeling that they possess something of a Divine authority, has hitherto given them a powerful influence, which they are unwilling to weaken by having any new information communicated to the people; they therefore have always set themselves against any innovation which might inform them. They were in strict league with the janissaries, who were on all occasions their instruments to repress any idea of change. They were always on the watch to find out any intended improvement, and they set on the janissaries to oppose it.

The janissaries in their first formation had been Christian slaves, furnished by the conquered people, and kept up by a conscription of every seventh child. The practice, however, fell into disuse, and then the janissaries were enrolled from the people. They had no tie to bind them particularly to the reigning sovereign. The veneration for his person which was formerly felt, faded away into the feeling of an attachment to the people from whom they were taken, and of whom they were still a part, and their weak and shallow minds were ready on all occasions to be directed by the more cunning and designing Ulema, whenever it was necessary to oppose an intended improvement. They had become, from this constant excitement, a turbulent and intractable body, under no restraint even to their own Aga, inefficient as soldiers, but most powerful and dangerous as demagogues to inflame and direct the whole body of the people. To cut off at a blow this right hand of the Ulema was an indispensable preliminary to the introduction of any reform, and it was therefore the first energetic act of the Sultan. He has thus demolished, as it were, the outworks of ignorance and intolerance, and he is now proceeding to blow up the fortress.

I had an opportunity of knowing much of the habits and private life of Mahmood from one who was in constant intercourse with him, and it is nearly as follows. He takes two meals a day, one at eleven in the morning and the other at sunset. He has exchanged the Turkish stool and tray for a chair and table, which is laid out exactly in the European fashion. The table is furnished with a cloth and knives and forks, which are English, the knives being round at the ends, and not pointed like the French; to these are added golden spoons and a decanter of wine. The wine is usually champagne, which he is fond of, and is greatly amused when

the cork explodes and the wine flies up to the ceiling. He always sits alone at his meals. The dishes are brought in one at a time in succession, to the number of fifty or sixty, and are all covered and sealed. He breaks the seal himself and tastes the dish; if he does not like it, he again covers it and sends it away. When he at length comes to one which he fancies good, he keeps it and dines sparingly upon it. The introduction of wine has not induced him, notwithstanding what his enemies say, to innovate on his temperate habits—he uses his privilege without abusing it.

In his domestic habits he is mild and amiable to a degree quite astonishing in a character marked by such fierce and unsparing rigour. He is a cordial friend, and a gentle master to his domestics. He is remarkably fond of his children, enters into all the sports of his sons, and suffers them to take great liberties with him, so as sometimes to climb up and ride on his back. He is himself a proficient in manly exercises, particularly in archery, which is one of his great amusements. There is a large elevated plain behind the village of Tatavola, or St. Demetri, called the Ocmeidan, or Place of the Arrow. Here he frequently exercises, and the distance to which he sends an arrow is marked by small pillars. His excellence in this exercise is so great as to have inspired the poet laureat of the court, who has written and published a poem on the flight of an arrow which he sent to the incredible distance of fifteen hundred yards. He is sometimes fond of retiring by himself or with his children to some solitary eminence, on the shores of the Bosphorus, where he sits conversing and amusing himself in their company. On this occasion chouashes are stationed in a wide circle around, who turn people in another direction when they are approaching where he is. I was one day botanising, and so engaged that I passed the

chouash without knowing it, and stumbled upon the Sultan in his retreat; he was sitting under a little tent, playing with one of his children, and though I passed close to him he did not, or did not seem to take any notice of me. There were times when a man's life would fall a sacrifice to such an accidental intrusion; and impressed at this period with the fierce and unrelenting character of the man, I did not feel my head safe till I again got beyond the circumference of the prohibited circle.

He has always had some favourite to whom he is attached. The person who at present occupies the place of Halet Effendi is a young man about the age of twenty-eight. He is the son of a Caffègee, or coffeehouse-keeper at Beybec, on the Bosphorus, and is well remembered by many persons as having handed them coffee and a pipe when he was a boy, plying in his father's shop. He was remarkably handsome, and the Sultan, in his visits to Beybec, saw him, and was struck with his beauty, and immediately took him into his service as a page. In this capacity he so ingratiated himself with him, that he is now the supreme director of the Sultan's household. This favourite, like most others, has no friend to give him a good word. He is represented as frivolous, dissipated, and avaricious, turning everything into money, and squandering it profusely on his indulgences.

Among other speculations Mustapha was induced to establish a tannery for the fabrication of leather by the European process, to substitute for the miserable article they manufacture in Turkey. To this end a Mr. Glewis, a Cornishman, was invited to Constantinople, and under his direction a large tannery was set up in the Valley of Hunkairiskelessi, and oil and other materials for dressing the leather were sent out from England. The Bosphorus, how-

ever, abounds with shoals of porpoises, whose bodies are every day cast on shore, and lie weltering in oil and fat, devoured by the gulls and other birds. The prejudice of the Turks never allowed them to take these fish, or their indolence or ignorance to make any use of them; but it was now suggested to establish a porpoise, like a whale-fishery, and to use their oil in this and similar factories in dressing the leather. The Sultan, who is well pleased at such undertakings, highly approved of and encouraged his favourite Mustapha in the project, and when the building was completed he came down to visit and examine it. When he arrived, however, instead of the noise of curriers and tanners exercising their trade, as he expected, he heard nothing but the sound of music and the rattling of dice in the building. It appeared that the steam-boat which had accompanied the Barham ship-of-war was being painted, and the officers, turned out of their berths, had taken up their residence in the factory till they could return to them. When the Sultan was informed of this he only laughed at the oddity of the circumstance, and the employment of those who were engaged, he thought, in the manufacture of leather; with his usual urbanity, he insisted that the officers should not be disturbed till their ship was entirely ready, and so he departed. When his presence, however, was made known, the Barham's yards were manned, and he was received in passing with a royal salute, with which he was highly gratified, and accepted it as a full compensation for his disappointment.

I was curious to know in what estimation he was held by the people, and therefore repaired to see him in his public passage on riding to the mosque. He appeared on horseback, in European dress, boots and pantaloons, with a military cloak buttoned under his chin, and, instead of the awkward and contracted position in which I had seen him before, covered

with a long dress like a woman, he had a manly and firm seat with long stirrups; and the only thing which prevented a total metamorphosis of his person was the fez, or red cap, which came down over his ears. This deformity he was obliged to substitute when he laid aside the turban in compliance with the prejudices of the people, as it is still a part of the former covering of the head, but a little enlarged, and he means, it is said, soon to lay it by also for a hat. As there is something solemn on this occasion, and Friday, on which it happens, is the Turkish Sabbath, there was no indication of popular feeling. He passed freely, as before, through a line of people who had assembled to gaze on him, and he was salaamed with the same silent respect as usual. There were some ladies of our party who also bowed their heads, which he returned with a slight smile and a placid countenance.

I had afterwards, however, a better opportunity of ascertaining the popular feeling. He has adopted the custom of visiting different parts of the empire, not in the terrors of military array like his predecessors, but in the garb of peace, and attended only by a few of his functionaries, for the purpose of inspecting into the wants of the people and applying the best remedies. On the 22d of the moon Zilhitze, 1246, that is, June 3, 1831, it was announced that he left Constantinople in the Turkish frigate Cherif Rezam, accompanied by a squadron of others. He was attended by the sons of some of the influential men, whom, it was said, he took as hostages for the good conduct of their fathers in his absence. It was rumoured that he invited the Mufti to accompany him, that he might make a visitation through his vast diocese, and ascertain the spiritual state of his numerous flock, but the wily head of the Ulema chose to stay behind. The Sultan proceeded to Gallipoli,

from thence to the Dardanelles, and so to Adrianople. Here he was met by deputations of the different religious communities, the Turks headed by their molhas, the Greeks by their late patriarch, who resides there, the Armenians by their vertabiets, or archbishops, and the Jews by their haham bashi, or high priest. Among those he distributed large sums of money to be expended in schools and other useful objects. He then proceeded to inspect the state of the town, directed a stone bridge to be built across the Maritza, instead of the decayed and dangerous wooden one. He paid particular attention to the hospitals, in which he ordered sundry improvements, and told the superintendents that he would hold them responsible for any deficiency in their comforts and convenience, as he would supply the means to provide everything. From hence he returned through the plains of Thrace, and he was struck, for the first time, with their desolate appearance. He saw the land beautiful, and susceptible of high improvement; and in some places crops lying waste without any hands to gather them. He immediately ordered that peasants should be collected from other places, and sent in to gather the harvest, and that hamlets should be built for their future residence, where their industry should be promoted by encouragement and security. This exhibited a Turkish picture of depopulation and neglect as striking as it was true, and which had existed for centuries under the eyes of his predecessors, but which no Sultan before himself ever condescended to think worth his consideration.

From hence he arrived at Selyvria, on the sea-coast, where he again embarked for Constantinople. The rumour of his return was spread, and I went to see him land, and hear what the people said of him. I found the shores crowded as far as Beshiktash, where he proposed to disembark.

Among the rest were the children of all the schools which he had established, who began to collect at an early hour from different quarters under their respective masters, and, uniting together, formed a most interesting procession, similar and not inferior to that which takes place in London, when the children of the different schools proceed to St. Paul's; with this difference, that the children of only one profession appear on that day in London, but here all the varied shades of Turk, Jew, and Christian were blended together, equally fostered, and the benefits of education and encouragement alike extended to all. When I consider how long it took to conquer the prejudices and antipathies of different religious sects among us, and to what an extent they still continue, I could not help admiring this tolerant Turk, who, among all the opposition and difficulties which he has to encounter, has shown himself so liberal and enlightened. He afterwards distributed one hundred thousand piastres among these different schools, not even omitting those of the Greek and Armenian Catholics.

As he approached there was a universal excitement visible. Every one seemed to take a deep interest in him. The Turks never express their feelings by shouts and huzzas on any public occasion, but they do it more emphatically by certain grave ejaculations, which seem to come from the deepest recesses of their minds. As he passed there was a universal bowing of the head, and a low and solemn murmur of applause, that I thought more expressive of respect and approbation than any display of popular sentiment I had ever witnessed.

Two circumstances, independent of its object and benefits, made this tour memorable—one, that it was celebrated by the historian of the empire as an event as extraordinary as it was surprising in Turkish annals, and the account was

printed and published at the government press. The other was that a new coinage was struck at Adrianople to commemorate it. The former emblem of the city was a rose, to indicate, I believe, the manufacture of otto of roses, for which the vicinity of that town is celebrated. For this a star was substituted on the new coin, as complimentary to the appearance of the Sultan there. It so happened that the impression was defective, and some of the rays of the star were deficient, while those that were more distinct gave the form of a cross. This circumstance was also seized on by the sanguine Greeks, who declared that it was another indication of his disposition to embrace Christianity. He had just at the time completed a new palace near Istavros, on the Bosphorus, and they did not fail to remark that he had chosen for his residence "the City of the Cross."

This remarkable tour of a Turkish sovereign was marked by consideration and benevolence, not like those of any former Sultan, whose progress was traced by oppression and desolation. Here was no extortion of the peasant, no bastinadoing of Rayas, no strangling and decapitation of suspected pashas. Wherever he went he left behind him traces of beneficence.

Many of the reforms or changes I have detailed to you may appear too frivolous and absurd to deserve a notice, but you will recollect they refer to the reformation of a Turk, who was hitherto incapable of estimating the comparative value of anything, except that the more light and frivolous the object was to which he was attached, with more pertinacity did he adhere to it. Much energy, you say, was wasted on his reformation of dress, but Oriental dress was one great barrier which separated the people from Europeans, and besides was so interwoven with other prejudices, that it was actually necessary to remove the one before he

could come at the other. The English parliament did not think it beneath their legislation to pass an act for regulating the breeches of a Highlander, in order to break down his peculiarities and amalgamate him with the rest of the people. You will further consider that he was not a man of an enlightened nation, endeavouring to improve others who were less so than himself; but he was a Turk, born and educated in the Seraglio, and so originally imbued with a more than usual share of the pride and prejudices of his people; that he never was out of the country to inform his ignorance by the lights, or dissipate his prejudices by the comparison of other people, but his efforts were directed by the spontaneous effusions of his own mind, and he has followed them up by the intuitive knowledge only of a superior understanding; and that so far from meeting with the co-operation of his subjects, he has been opposed at every step by the most deadly animosity, and carried every measure at the imminent peril of his life. He has been compared to Peter the Great, but you will think me extravagant if I say that the comparison does not do him justice. Both were born in ignorance and despotism—both had a barbarous and intractable people to manage, and both resorted to the fearful energies of cruelty and blood; but Peter was the unnatural father who put to death his only son, and he continued to the time of his death the furious man who never could restrain his passion. Mahmood, in the wildest excitements of his provocation, never forgot the ties of nature and the tenderness of a father; and after subduing his subjects, he achieved a still more difficult conquest of subduing himself.

CHAPTER XII.

Indication of Fire—Rapid progress—Destruction of English and other Palaces—Extent of the Conflagration—Escape of the British Chancery—Awful state of a Private House—Total obliteration of Streets—Indifference of Turkish Authorities—Sultan proposes to rebuild on a new Plan—Persevering attempts to burn Constantinople—Execution of the Incendiaries—Awful Hail Storm—Incredible size of Stones—Effects of the Fire on Cholera—Plague again appears—Interesting Cases—Innoculation tried—American Mission first established—Character of Society.

Sir Robert Gordon had given a grand fête on the Giant's Mountain, and all the domestics of the Palace had repaired thither. I was obliged to attend a funeral, and so could not avail myself of his kind invitation, but I remained at Pera. On the morning of the 22d of August I proceeded, about ten o'clock, to the Frank burying-ground, and in passing through the palace-garden perceived some tufts of dry grass smoking in more than one place. On pointing this out to the capigee, or porter at the gate, he ran, with the greatest alarm, to extinguish it, and then informed me it was caused by the explosion of red-hot nails from some great fire but he knew not where it was. I searched for the nails and could find no trace of them, but the projection of the fire from some undefined distance was certainly a subject of great alarm. On proceeding to the Frank burying-ground I perceived a few people standing on the brow of a hill that overlooked the valley of St. Demetri, and on going thither, they pointed out to me four or five houses on fire at a place called Sakiz Aghats; but the district was so remote, and the fire at the time so trifling, that I thought there could be

no possible danger to the town, though the distance to which the inflammable matter had been carried was an alarming circumstance, as the palace was nearly half a mile from the burning houses.

The wind which had prevailed for some time was strong and arid, and had dried up every substance capable of combustion, so as to render it highly inflammable. The interval between the place and the palace was a steep hill, which presented a face of wooden houses almost like a pile of dry timber. Against this the flame was driven, and it ascended with incredible activity. On my return from the funeral I could hardly believe the progress it had made in less than three quarters of an hour. As I had left my daughter at home, I felt an undefined sense of alarm particularly for her safety, so I hastened back. On my return I was a good deal obstructed by the crowds which were hurrying up with their effects from all the streets in the vicinity of Sakiz Aghats, so that with all the diligence I could use I found the fire had travelled so fast that it had arrived at the palace-gate before me, having nearly consumed all the intermediate houses in its way.

It was generally supposed that the English palace, in the middle of an open area, could not be reached by the fire. I met the consul-general, however, in the garden. We entered the palace, where he gave some precautionary directions. In a short time the flames spread round three sides of the garden, so as nearly to inclose it in a circumference of fire, and the whole area was canopied with sheets of flame and smoke. Several persons had dragged their furniture into the precincts of the palace as to a place of security from the fire; but the heat became now so intense, and the air so filled with showers of burning embers that the piled up

furniture began to smoke, and seemed ready to burst into a blaze, though the fire was yet at a considerable distance. I was at this time within the palace, endeavouring with others to render any assistance, if the fire should actually seize the building; but I found it filled with a crowd of fugitives in a state of terror and irremediable confusion, with not one person present who belonged to the establishment, or who could direct or control any useful operation. A large pile of fire-wood stood close beside, and to remove this inflammable heap seemed the most obvious and important thing to be done, but no one had thought of doing it till some of the officers of the Acteon who happened to enter suggested its necessity; we therefore ordered it to be removed as a necessary measure of precaution, and when I saw this in the act of being done, I retired to look after my own house. Some of my furniture had been brought out into the garden, and my daughter and a servant were standing beside it. They presented a fearful sight. A smoke was beginning to ascend from them, and they seemed as if they were all about to burst into a blaze. Terrified at the apprehension of my daughter's clothes thus taking fire, I hurried her out of the garden into the open space of the burying-ground: but before we could reach it a fierce and sudden gust of wind seemed to drive the whole body of fire directly on the palace. It came on roaring like a vast furnace, and enveloped us all in a dark and lurid-looking flame. When the obscurity dispersed all the trees of the garden and the edifice itself burst into a vast and sudden blaze. Accompanied by one of the officers of the Acteon I now ran back to the palace, in the hope of saving the archives, which, as there was no authorised person on the spot, and the fire, it was hoped, would not seize the palace, no one had ventured to

remove. There was now, however, no delicacy to be observed, so we hastened to the room where I knew they were deposited, and attempted to enter, but it was fast locked. We made several attempts by rushing against it to burst it open, but it resisted all our efforts. The flames were now roaring out of the windows, and having no hope of being able to render any service in this way, I hastily left the palace to look after an object even more precious to me than the archives of an empire. I had scarcely found her, terrified and alone, when the roof of the palace fell in with a crash. A vast column of smoke and flame ascended from the centre, and in twenty minutes from the time the fire seized it, the noble palace was no more. My own house immediately after followed. When the sheet of flame fell on it, it blazed up like a handful of shavings in a carpenter's yard. The blaze subsided again, and nothing remained of it and all it contained but a heap of ashes.

From hence the fire took the direction of Pera, consuming every thing with incredible and irresistible force. On all former occasions stone houses had not only escaped, but they stopped the progress of the conflagration, and a person who had one interposed between his own and the fire thought himself safe. A great part of Pera Street consisted of edifices of this kind, inhabited either by European ministers or merchants. But those fire-proof edifices afforded now no more impediment to the progress of the flames than the wooden sheds. All the palaces of the French, Dutch, Sardinian, Russian, and Prussian diplomatists were prostrated before it, with all the equally strong houses of the merchants, and in six hours not one of them remained. The Austrian and Swedish alone escaped, as being out of the direct line. The latter had been burned before, and little remained but the gate-house. The former

had belonged to the Venetians, and seemed to bear a charmed life. It had stood almost since the time of the crusades, and all the fires seemed to turn aside from it, as if they knew it to be incombustible. The blaze continued to extend in different directions down to Casim Pasha till nine in the evening, when the wind subsided, and its progress was stopped after extending over an area of about three miles in circumference, and consuming all those buildings which former fires had spared.

The next morning presented a dismal spectacle. The people, driven from their houses, had no place of retirement but the burying-ground. Here I saw them in thousands stretched upon the earth, with no covering but the sky, and no bed but the graves. The Sultan caused an immediate return to be made of the number of houses destroyed and people burnt out. The former amounted to ten thousand, and the latter to eighty thousand, as the population was very dense. He ordered all the barracks to be fitted up to receive them, and distributed eight hundred thousand piastres among them for their immediate necessities. Sir Robert Gordon suggested to me the propriety of making a subscription for such English subjects as had suffered, which was done, he himself, though a very severe sufferer by the fire, setting a liberal example.

Many persons lost all their property by an imprudent sense of security. In the stone houses there was generally a fire-proof magazine below the foundation, where any property was placed as in a state of perfect security. The dragomans of our mission had deposited all their effects in such places and fled. They found next day the iron trap-doors melted, and all the property below reduced to tinder, and the whole corps had nothing left, they told me, but the beniches, or long gowns, they happened to have on their

backs. Almost the only house that effectually resisted the fire was the British chancery. It is an arched cell of brick and stone alternately with iron window-shutters, which the people of the office hastily closed, plastered up with mud, and ran off, leaving everything behind them. The next day it was standing, but it had been made red-hot, and it was supposed that every thing within was calcined like the MSS. in Herculaneum. Among other documents deposited there were the registers of the British chaplaincy. In order to avoid the consequences of fire, I had, when I was here before, a larger folio made, and I directed that all the entries of the existing one, both past and future, should be copied into it: so that one should always remain in the palace and the other in the chancery. It had happened that they both were in the latter place to copy some entries when the fire took place, and I was extremely anxious lest the power of ascertaining the births, marriages, and deaths of all the English at Pera were now for ever obliterated. For several days they were afraid to open the doors, lest the air rushing in should inflame what was not already destroyed. At length, however, the door was opened, and everything was found safe. Next door to the chancery was a very large and strong house, which the pious founder had placed under a protection which he thought was more effectual than Greek arches and iron shutters. An inscription indicated that he had put it under the care of St. Mary and Joseph*, and under their care it had stood for more than a century untouched among all the conflagrations that surrounded it. The present fire, however, held it in no respect, for, notwithstanding this precaution, the house was burned down to the ground, leaving nothing standing but part of the front

* The inscription was as follows :—"Mariæ et Josepho protectoribus, hanc domum et omnia sua credidit Fredericus Chiricho," A.D. 1708.

wall and the votive tablet. We had begun to build a new church beside the palace, which was just roofed, and notwithstanding its exposed situation and inflammable state, it had singularly remained uninjured, though unattended to in the midst of the fire.

Another house had escaped in a manner which the pious inmates considered miraculous. Some Peraote ladies of my acquaintance inhabited a stone house nearly opposite the Galata Serai. Reluctant to leave their property behind them, they did not escape on the first alarm, but the flames came on so rapidly they were completely surrounded and their retreat cut off. They looked out of the windows and saw their house standing alone, insulated in a sea of fire. It was furnished with iron window-shutters, which they immediately closed, and in that state, shut up in darkness, they awaited the appalling event of being burnt alive. Perhaps there never was a more awful situation. The iron shutters soon became red-hot, and the lurid glare cast into the apartment was their only light. The house, however, did not blaze or fall, and the inmates escaped death. It exhibited afterwards an extraordinary spectacle. It stood alone like the burnt pillar, the stones calcined and vitrified, a slender, solitary edifice, in a waste of smoking ashes.

So complete was the obliteration of all that marked the former streets of Pera, and so sudden was the change, that people could not find their way through them. It is not like a fire in England, where the roofs fall in and leave the walls standing to mark the direction of the street. Here every thing was prostrated, and the open space presented no more direction than a rugged common. An Englishman, who had not been long in Pera, left for Odessa on business, and returned in little more than a week. When arrived at Tophana he took his bag, and proceeded up to Josephine's

Locanda, where he had lodged before. He heard nothing of the fire from the taciturn Turks, and when he came to where he thought his inn ought to stand, he found an open space, encumbered with heaps of rubbish. He thought he had wandered into some other district where he never had been before, so he returned to a friend's house in Galata, and then he first learned the catastrophe, and that nothing remained of his inn or the street in which it had stood.

Among the calamities of a fire here is to be reckoned the depredations committed. A number of Greeks and Ionians, who had been klepts or robbers during the revolutionary war, came, when it was over, to Pera, to exercise their vocation under another form. Assuming the pretence of being hummals, or porters, they flock to a fire, are employed to carry away goods, and disappear with them. Half of the little I saved was taken off by these fellows, and I never saw it again. This was carried to such an extent, that orders were issued next day to stop all persons in the streets bringing away any property, and if any suspicions arose to deposit it at certain houses appointed for the purpose. A friend of mine, who had lost his trunk in this way, went to the Tersanha, one of the depôts, to look after it. Here he saw displayed before him five or six hundred trunks. On looking over them he discovered his own, which he brought away. If the hummal happened to be a Turk, the property was perfectly secure. Another friend lost a valuable cabinet which was thus carried off by a hummal, and disappeared. He made fruitless inquiries for several days without effect, and gave it over for lost. Some time after he was accosted by a Turk in the street, of whom he had no recollection, who motioned him to follow him. He did so to a house in Galata, where the honest Turk showed him his cabinet perfectly safe. He was the hummal whom he had

employed; he lost sight of him in the crowd, and knew not where to find him till this accidental encounter.

A remarkable degree of supineness, and which indeed appeared to be studied neglect, was displayed in the conduct of the authorities in protecting the houses of the Franks. The Galata Nazir proceeded on horseback through the places on fire, attended by his chouashes, like our Lord Mayor upon a similar occasion. He rode into the palace garden, and when I thought he was about to give some effectual directions, he rode out again without saying or doing anything. He then entered the house of a British merchant in Pera Street, inquired after the health of the family, said there was no danger, and began to smoke his pipe, till the fire surrounded the house and he was compelled to make his escape.

Wherever money had been properly and in sufficient quantity given to the trombagees, they showed how effectual they were. A British merchant told me his stores were on fire, and he saw just in front some of these fellows sitting upon their idle engines. He applied to them to exert themselves, but they demanded three thousand piastres. He offered one thousand, when the director, taking his pipe deliberately from his mouth, said he would split the difference, and take fifteen hundred. To this he assented, the trombagee took down the agreement, and then exerted the engine so effectually that the stores were saved, though the iron window-shutters were red hot at the time. Other instances of this kind occurred to prove the efficiency of these mercenary fellows when they please to exert themselves.

The Sultan sent next day messages of condolence to the different missions whose palaces were burnt. He apologised for the apparent want of exertion among the autho-

rities, by stating that the Seraskier was confined by illness, and sent along with his apology presents of fruit and certain flowers, as emblematic symbols of his sympathy.

He wished to give a stronger proof of the interest he took, by rebuilding Pera on another plan more according with the habits and feelings of Europeans, and as a model for similar alterations where fires gave him an opportunity; but in this he found himself opposed by an invincible obstinacy which had always resisted such an improvement, and a sturdy assertion of right which had superseded and set at defiance all the power of former governments or individuals. In 1755, the palace of the Grand Vizir was burned by a fire communicated from a contiguous dwelling; he therefore wished to remove it, to prevent the recurrence of a similar accident. But it belonged to an aged woman, who considered it an inheritance, and she said, "The Lord keep me from giving the inheritance of my fathers to thee;" and, more fortunate than Naboth, her right was respected. Even Rayas will not surrender their houses, and Jews have been known to refuse theirs for the site of a mosque. The Sultan now found the same spirit opposed to him, and after having had a plan drawn up, and suspending the rebuilding of the street till it could be carried into effect, he was so assailed by numerous petitions that he was compelled to permit the proprietors of houses to rebuild them as they were before, and he who exterminated twenty thousand citizens in one day was unable, or unwilling, to deprive an individual of an inch of property. They even encroached upon the streets beyond their former foundation. The avenue to the British palace had been very dark and narrow, and it was intended in the new plan to have a wide approach, but the houses were run up so as almost to meet at the top, and render the passage more dark and narrow than before, and finding the

inefficacy of stone to resist fire, the proprietors rebuilt them of wood.

Meantime events transpired which proved that the fire was not accidental, but a desperate and expiring attempt of the adherents of the janissaries. After a few days another fire broke out at Constantinople, which consumed four hundred houses, and on the night following another, which destroyed three hundred more. The next day followed the destruction of the Capitan Pasha's palace and part of the Tersanha, or Arsenal. Scarcely was one extinguished when another appeared, till at length one morning the whole city of Constantinople was seen from Galata in a blaze. The fire burst out near the Seven Towers in several places at once, and proceeded rapidly to the centre of the city, and the blaze was seen to extend for a mile in length and nearly as much in breadth. The fugitives who fled before it were hastening with their effects to the district of Balata, at the other side of the city, but the flames were seen to burst out here also, and drive them back again. In a short time six fires were kindled in Constantinople, which consumed about eleven thousand houses, which, added to those destroyed in Pera, gave the number of twenty-one thousand totally destroyed in little more than a week.

This terrible and persevering destruction seriously alarmed every one, and it was rumoured that a place would be altogether abandoned where life and property were so insecure, and the Turkish government set about an investigation when the mischief was done. Several fellows were caught with condacs, or fire-balls, in their possession, which they intended to use as long as a house remained standing on either peninsula. They were executed on the spot, and were seen lying in the streets with their heads between their legs, having a condac, or bunch of matches in their mouths,

to indicate the occasion of their punishment. No clew, however, could be found to lead to the higher agents in this affair, till a woman of more respectable appearance was one day detected with a condac in her possession. She declared that a tchelebi, or gentleman, had met her in the streets and put it into her hand with five hundred piastres. On describing his person, he was recognised as one of the ulema of considerable influence. He was seized and put to the torture, and implicated many others. From these clews they discovered three hundred persons of the military, and many of them outz bashis, or captains, had engaged in a plot to destroy the city with the rebels of Albania and the adherents of the janissaries, and in the confusion to depose the Sultan and restore the old order of things. All these were executed in a manner peculiarly characteristic of the people.

The great fête at this time took place of circumcising the young prince, Abdul Metzed Effendi, heir-apparent to the throne. On this occasion the great meadow between Scutari and Kadi Kui was selected for the occasion. Splendid tents were erected, amusements of all kinds were enjoyed, and a vast concourse of people assembled from every part of the country and capital to witness the ceremony, which was attended by the Sultan and all the officers of state. Among the rest some regiments had their green tents pitched on the high grounds. After three days of fêtes and rejoicing, the officers of the regiments encamped were invited to a concluding entertainment in a large tent prepared for the occasion. Here they were strangled. They were found, or suspected, to be concerned in burning down the city, and they were disposed of in this manner. The Sultan, however inclined to the slow process of justice on other occasions, is merciless, like his great prototype Peter, when his reforms are opposed. The manner in which they were

executed was described to me. The original cord used for the occasion was a real string of a bow, when that weapon had been used by the Turkish army. The present is a common cord, having a piece of wood or cane attached to it, which serves as a lever to draw it tight when thrown round the culprit's neck. When he is all but dead, the cord is relaxed, for the purpose of letting his soul out of his body. The unfortunate man then makes a last expiration, and people affirm that they then see a dense breath issue from the mouth, as if something corporeal was conveyed in it. The cord is then finally closed till the person is entirely dead.

The conflagration of the city was followed by an awful phenomenon. As there was no house left in Pera where we could take shelter, we hastily got into a caique, left the burning city, and proceeded to Buyukderé. Here with the family of the worthy American missionary, Mr. Gooddell, we occupied a large house on the sea-shore which had belonged to a Greek of rank, named Scanavi, and was afterwards occupied as the country residence of the Austrian internuncio. This large edifice was like a vast lantern full of windows. On the 14th of October the weather was intensely and unnaturally sultry for the season of the year; the thermometer rose to 86° in the shade, and we felt the relaxation and lassitude of the hottest days in August. The next morning the atmosphere was clear and fine, but still sultry, and the wind south, when about seven o'clock, as we were preparing as usual to walk up the mountain, a deep muttering was heard as of distant thunder, and soon after a dark dense cloud was seen to approach as if from Constantinople; presently the sea in that direction appeared to boil up, as if violently agitated from some extraordinary cause, the ebullition resembling that of a cauldron. As this approached, several large bodies were seen to fall into the sea

Shape and Size of the HAILSTONES *which fell at Buyukdere, immediately after the great fire on the 14th October 1832.*

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

at considerable intervals, and the splash they made was like that of a large stone plumping into the water. Presently after the windows were dashed in with a tremendous crash, and the house was struck with a volley of hailstones, or rather lumps of ice, which, in force, size, and violence, had some resemblance to the discharge of a battery of cannon. They smashed the windows in a moment to pieces. Some of them struck the floor, bounded against the opposite wall, and rebounded again through the glass, smashing one pane coming in and another going out, and in a moment the room was filled with these huge balls, springing about with surprising elasticity, and driving us to other places for shelter. They perforated the tiles of the roof with equal force and facility; and such was their weight and the velocity and impulse with which they descended from the sky, that it seemed certain that they would soon batter down the house.

This awful assault, however, of "heaven's artillery" lasted only twelve or fifteen minutes, and when we were expecting every moment that our large but slight-built edifice would give way, the din and tumult subsided, the stones by degrees decreased in size, and finally they terminated in a shower of heavy rain, which entered through the apertures of the roof, perforated like a cullender, and, pouring from the ceilings, inundated the whole house, and ran down the stairs like a cataract.

On collecting some of these extraordinary stones after the shower, they appeared very hard and solid lumps of ice, generally of an irregular spheroidal form, about five inches in circumference. Some were of a transparent blue, others more white and opaque. Some seemed an agglomeration of smaller stones, congealed together, covered with protuberances like the large tuberous roots of plants. Some

were of a triangular shape, and the sides resembled columnar crystallisations. Some were formed of concentric layers, like the coats of an onion, and when partly dissolved on one side presented a nucleus in the centre, surrounded with regular rings, enlarging to the circumference. They were intensely cold to the touch, so as hardly to be borne in the hand, producing a burning sensation, as if they were hot metal. Yet they soon dissolved, leaving behind them globes of water. Some of those found on the mountains above Buyukderé were represented as of a most enormous size and weight. One of them was brought as a specimen to our apothecary, who found its weight one hundred and ten drachms, or more than three quarters of a pound, and it measured fourteen inches in circumference.

This tremendous shower passed over Pera and Constantinople, and proceeded from the Sea of Marmora to the Black Sea, nearly in the line of the Bosphorus, shattering everything in its way. It was, however, very circumscribed in its breadth. All the houses on the European side along the shore suffered most severely, and the gardens and vineyards were torn to pieces. They exhibited a dilapidated and ruined appearance the whole way, as if some devastating army had passed along that side, while the opposite continued smiling in security, and not even a window was broken.

Some caiques were caught on the water during the storm. The terrified boatmen threw themselves on their faces, and remained praying while it lasted. Some were severely contused by the blows they received. The passengers put up umbrellas at first, but they were torn to pieces in an instant, and those who held them threw themselves also for some shelter on their faces. Commodore Porter, the American Minister, had set out from Buyukderé in his caique to

proceed to the Porte, when the shower fell on him. He declared to me that the awe and alarm he felt were greater than any thing he had ever experienced during a long life of peril and warfare, storm, shipwreck, earthquake, or battle which he had encountered. He felt the impression as of some mysterious and preternatural phenomenon; as if the cope of heaven had been frozen into a dense canopy of ice, which was suddenly burst, and the large fragments tumbled on their heads to crush them. He apprehended some of them would drive through the bottom of the caique, and she would instantly go down. But few stones, however, struck the boat. One of them shattered a man's hand, who, in his motionless terror, still held the oar.

It was very providential that the intervals between these large stones was considerable—they fell several yards asunder. This was one cause why so comparatively few accidents occurred. Many persons were severely bruised before they could find shelter, and as it was early the usual crowd of people were not abroad. In Galata they were not yet risen, and some started from their beds in alarm, supposing the discontented adherents of the janissaries had burst upon them to destroy whatever the fires had spared. Few lives were lost. On the high grounds above Buyukderé two vinedressers were killed in a vineyard in an exposed situation, where they could not find shelter. Below, the only lives lost were those of a flock of geese. They were feeding beside the sea, and, when the storm began they stretched out their necks, and never thought of running under cover, and the people who saw them were afraid to venture out to drive them. In a few minutes the whole flock was struck dead.

During the storm and immediately after, the thermometer fell below 60°, and the sensation of the sudden transit from heat to cold was painfully disagreeable. For several days

it continued to increase, and was attended with deluges of rain. All the carpenters and glaziers were put in requisition to repair the Sultan's kiosks and those of his officers, so that the rest of the people continued exposed in shattered houses, without roofs or windows, which was very severely felt, as all the dwellings which the fire had spared were now nearly rendered uninhabitable by this portentous hail. For me, I was driven again from my residence, and knew not where to go, till apartments were assigned to me at the residence of the embassy at Therapia, by the kindness of Mr. Mandeville, the British Minister. Here we again removed, doomed in this unstable country soon again to seek another residence.

There was a remarkable coincidence between the hail that fell here and that which I had seen at Zante ten years before. The size and consistence of these lumps of ice were nearly the same, and the precursors of them had some resemblance. The one immediately followed an earthquake, the other an immense conflagration. Whether either of them had influence in producing those atmospheric changes that caused those enormous and preternatural hailstones, I presume not to say; but certainly the fire appeared to have a very decided effect in other things. The cholera, which had been raging violently just before, received a sudden check. It was imagined at first that fatigue, anxiety, exposure, and privation would greatly increase the disease, but the effects were otherwise. Many persons died from terror and exhaustion during and after the fire, and among the rest the capigee, or palace porter, and his wife; but the alarming epidemic which was rapidly spreading immediately disappeared, and the great fire of Constantinople was supposed, like that of London, to have extinguished a mortal malady.

But it did not extinguish the plague, which burst out

with great violence when the other epidemics subsided. In a house near ours, a family was seized with a complaint which had some symptoms in common with cholera, and was supposed at first a return of that disease; it soon, however, developed itself as true pestilence. The whole family, consisting of several persons, fell victims to it in a few days; and at length Dr. Visconti, the physician who attended, was seized with it. He at first affirmed that the disease was not plague, in order, I was informed, to justify his visiting the patients; but he was soon compelled to acknowledge the fact by the characteristic symptoms appearing upon himself. Though he had fearlessly attended those who were seized with the complaint, he was abandoned by every one. His senses remained perfect, and he thought that leeches might relieve the acute pain he felt; but he could not prevail on any person to procure them, though he offered a large sum of money. When at length they were brought he was obliged to apply them himself—they proved ineffectual, for he died the next day. His fate excited great commiseration. He was a young Italian of much promise, and his fearless devotion to his profession held out a prospect that the terror of the disease might, by his and similar examples, be mitigated, and some rational mode of cure attempted by competent men. His death only increased the alarm, and effectually deterred others from following his example.

Circumstances continually occurred intimating the powerful influence of mental affections in resisting the attacks of this disease. Among the many which I knew, one was very remarkable. The wife of my friend Mr. Wood, one of the dragomans of the English mission, was seized with a complaint, the nature of which was not at first supposed to be alarming. Symptoms of plague soon developed them-

selves, when she was instantly abandoned by every person except her own father, who, as a singular instance of attachment, remained with her, and could not be prevailed on to leave her. The disease soon assumed a mortal character, and she died in his arms. He was for a considerable time in contact with a contagion of the worst kind, imbibing the perspiration and inhaling the effluvia of the patient, but he did not catch the infection. Some time after the death of his wife, Mr. Wood himself was seized with the complaint; he, too, was abandoned by every person except his own son, who could not be prevailed on to leave his father, to whom he was greatly attached. The father died and the son escaped the contagion. Here were two instances in the same family of the powerful effects of mental affection over physical. Terror, which is a depressing and so a debilitating passion, is known at all times to invite the access of infectious disorders, and every day proofs were exhibited of its melancholy effects, while the strong feelings of pious affection in the father and the son, overcoming those of fear, under Providence, protected them.

I went one day to the office of an English merchant at Pera, who was in the act of making a bargain. It is usual here as elsewhere to strike hands, in order to confirm it, but personal contact was at this time deemed highly dangerous, and no man would touch his neighbour; but the bargain must be ratified, so a stick was brought, and each of the contracting parties holding the ends of it, the affair was concluded. I was here informed of the graduated scale on which infection proceeds, and the comparative danger of various substances. Besides those which were usually admitted as susceptible, all kinds of woollen and cotton clothes, there was an infinite variety in the gradations of hazard in other things. Cats and rats were conductors, but dogs and horses

were not.) Several culinary articles were dangerous when hot, such as bread and cakes, though when cold were eaten with security; but the most absurd distinction seemed to be made in metals. (Money was generally immersed in vinegar, or some other acid,) but the metals of which it was composed, formed into spoons and other utensils, were supposed incapable of communicating contagion. Hence people who would not sit on the same divan, had no hesitation in taking several meats with the same spoon out of the same plate. But the most insusceptible of all substances was supposed to be amber, and it is one reason why such value is attached to it as a mouthpiece for a chibouque. It is the usual practice for the servant who brings pipes to visiters, to light the tobacco by first smoking it himself, and he hands it immediately from his mouth to that of the guest. This at any time is sufficiently revolting, but in times of pestilential contagion it is worse. I have seen the pipe presented with the saliva of the attendant still wet on it, to people who shrunk from all personal contact, and who carelessly put it into their mouths in that state without even wiping it.

Notwithstanding the awful impression left by the disease, and the motives to acquire some knowledge of it, and apply some rational means to prevent or cure it, it seems as little understood in the present light of science as in the darkest ages of ignorance. Among the natives of Europe who had investigated this disease, none, perhaps, had done so to a greater extent than the English, under the auspices of the Levant Company. Dr. Russell, then physician at Aleppo, examined it, and published the result of his experience for three years, including from 1760 to 1762, in an immense quarto of seven hundred and forty pages, containing the greatest body of information and the most numerous facts that had yet been submitted to the world, but produc-

ing no satisfactory results, either as to the nature or cure of the disease. He was followed by Dr. Whyte, who proceeded to Constantinople in 1801, from whence he went to Egypt. A notion had at this time prevailed in Europe, that inoculation would be a prophylactic, and a singular opinion prevalent in the East gave countenance to it. There is sometimes a blain, or boil, which is different from the glandular swellings, but which appears on the body at the same time, and proceeds with them to a suppuration. This is called the "King Pest," and it is supposed to arise on the spot where the disease first enters the system, and that they on whom it appears seldom die of the first attack, and are never susceptible of it again. The inoculation of the matter taken from this mysterious boil was imagined to be an effectual preservative. Dr. Whyte undertook to try the experiment, by introducing into his arms and rubbing into his thigh the matter of pestilential ulcers. In the first experiment he escaped, and no disease ensued. The second was followed by decided infection, to which he fell a victim.

But the man who most distinguished himself was Dr. Maclean. He proceeded to Constantinople under the direction of the Levant Company, and instead of flying from a disease which every one else looked on with such hopeless terror, he shut himself up in the hospital along with infected patients. There are two plague-hospitals: one near the Seven Towers in Constantinople, in a low, unhealthy situation: the other on an elevated site in Pera, on the high grounds above the Bosphorus. It was into the former the Doctor entered, with a firm impression on his mind that the disease was not contagious, and a design to convince others of the truth of his theory. His experiment was unfortunate —he caught the disease in the hospital. He escaped death, but, with an extraordinary pertinacity of opinion, he per-

sisted to affirm that it was not contagious, but communicated to him by the marsh miasma in the vicinity of the hospital. Whatever opinion be entertained of the result of these experiments, there can be but one as to their motives. A more intrepid or disinterested devotion of self in the cause of humanity is not to be found in history. Nothing could abate his conviction of non-contagion and the absurdity of quarantines. I met him with a broken constitution, hastening to his last home, but he was still as sanguine as ever that he would live to benefit the world, by some extraordinary improvement in the management of this terrible distemper, and he died, I was informed, in this firm conviction. Whether any other person will have courage to follow in the footsteps of my philanthropic, but rather eccentric friend, remains to be seen. There is no cause in which humanity is more deeply interested. I was a witness to its breaking out seven times in the course of my residence at Constantinople, and every time it created the same terror, confusion, irrational precaution, and unchecked mortality.

A new accession was now made to the diplomatists of Pera by the establishment of an American mission. The existence of an American continent was a thing scarcely known to the Turks in general. It was a place rather too remote for their comprehension, and was veiled in a cloud of obscurity, like some distant undefinable object, which might furnish a theme for a story-teller, but was not altogether a place to whose existence a true believer was bound to attach much credit. But though America was thus slightly known to the Turks, Turkey was well known to the Americans, and the active and intelligent people of the western continent had been long endeavouring to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with it. This attempt was made during the administration of Washington. Mr.

King, the American agent in London, employed an English gentleman well acquainted with the Turks to negociate a treaty, but he and his instructions fell into the hands of the French, and all traces of them were lost in the prisons of Verdun. A variety of attempts were afterwards made through other channels, but they all failed through the jealousies of other powers, who supposed that the profits of the Turkey trade were little enough for themselves, and they seemed to unite in excluding so active and enterprising a people from any share in it.

At length Mr. Rhind, the American consul at Odessa, undertook it, and the manner in which he conducted it exhibits a remarkable trait of those jealousies and intrigues which are continually in movement at the Turkish capital. He came only as an individual on his own private affairs, and he commenced his operation during the Ramazan, a period when the Turks were never known before to transact any business. He intrusted the secret to none but himself and the Reis Effendi, and by a judicious and liberal application of funds at his disposal he completely effected his object. To the astonishment of the diplomatic world of Pera, when the Ramazan was over, they found a new people recognised among them, and received on the terms of the "most favoured nations." It further appeared that the tact and sagacity of Mr. Rhind converted what he had made out as an important concession to the Turks, into a valuable benefit to his own country. By a secret article they were allowed to have ships built in America; and thus, while we of the old world were destroying the fleet of our ancient allies at Navarino, those new-comers had supplied them with a new one, by clearing away the useless forests which only encumbered their own soil.

The calamity of the fire had thrown us into the society of

those strangers. We escaped from the flames in the same caique, and took refuge in the same house at Buyukderé, where I had the pleasure of a long and intimate acquaintance with them; and whatever prejudice I might have imbibed of American society from imperfect or unfavourable representation, it was entirely removed by experience. They were uniformly persons not only of education, pleasing and gentlemanly manners and moral conduct, but also pious and serious even beyond those of the same class in England. Among our inmates was Mr. Rhind, who had effected the treaty, and Dr. Dekay, who was indefatigable in acquiring a knowledge of the country, and who has since published the result in a volume full of information. With these gentlemen and others of their country I made many excursions, was happy to communicate anything my longer residence in the country gave me a better opportunity of knowing, and was more than repaid by their free and open communication of whatever came to their knowledge.

The envoy appointed to carry the treaty into effect was Commodore Porter. The impressions of this gentleman in England were very unfavourable. He had published an exceptionable book when he was a sailor, which had excited much animadversion, and I confess I had no wish for any intimacy with its author. Almost his first act on establishing himself was to send for the worthy American missionary, the Rev. Mr. Gooddell, with his wife and family, to reside with him as his chaplain. Divine service was regularly performed in his house, and his demeanour was correspondent. I passed much time with him, and feel indebted to his kindness and hospitality, as well as gratified by his pleasant conversation. They all seemed interested in promoting the ends of the American Education Society for instructing the Greeks, and subscribed liberally towards

them. Several large schools of this kind on the Lancasterian plan were formed by their means in the villages of the Bosphorus, in each of which from fifty to one hundred Greek children were educated.

I state these things not only as a tribute of justice to individuals, but to remove, as far as my experience enables me, those prejudices which have too long prevailed among us. Ought we not, my friend, to be delighted to hear that our brethren, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, having the same institutions, and descended from the same fathers, should emulate us in the career of utility, and share with us the esteem of foreign countries? It is time for us to give up the petty jealousies that separated us, and to recollect that, however seas and circumstances may now divide us, still the voice of nature proclaims, "We are one;" and everything good and praiseworthy in America reflects back its lustre upon England.

CHAPTER XIII.

Few Antiquities at Constantinople—Reasons why—Earthquakes—Imperfect Architecture—Iconoclasts—Crusaders—Turks—Triple Serpent—Obelisk—Colossus—Brazen Horses—Their extraordinary Migrations—Marcian's Column—Daikili Tash, or Burnt Pillar—Interesting connexion with Christianity—Pillar of Theodosius—Strange use made of it—Pillar of Arcadius—Described by Gillius and others—Present remains of it.

BEFORE I finally leave this city, you wish me to give you some account of its antiquities and its inhabitants, particularly its Christian population. The first affords but scanty materials. Nothing can be a stronger contrast than that which *Roma Antiqua* and *Roma Nova* exhibit in this respect. In the former, though so much more ancient, edifices, columns, and other magnificent architectural objects, remain entire. The Pantheon, the Pillar of Trajan, and the Arch of Constantine, are at this day nearly as they were left by the artists that finished them. But there are no such in the new city, and it may be said of almost the whole that formerly decorated it, *Etiam periêre ruinæ.*

To this remarkable difference many local causes contributed. First, the liability of the country to earthquakes. The city of Constantinople has been shaken at different times by violent concussions, and the edifices built on the Seven Hills of the new city have been shattered by a cause, from which those of the old have been exempt. Another reason is, the want of durability in the structure of the edifices. At the time when the seat of empire was transferred from the Tiber to the Bosphorus, all the arts of life were

declining, and they continued to deteriorate till their architecture became as feeble as it was rude, and as transient as it was barbarous. A third was, the fanaticism of some of the Christian sects. The Iconoclasts, in the reign of Leo Isaurus, like Cromwell's Puritans, destroyed every image they met. Like them, their ignorance was equal to their fanaticism. They had neither taste to feel nor judgment to discriminate, and they pulled down everything which to them had the semblance of idolatry. The Byzantine historians greatly regret those ravages, and declare that many ancient statues and precious remains of sculpture were destroyed and disappeared through their folly *. To them succeeded a fourth cause, the Crusaders, still more ignorant and barbarous. They were in possession of the capital for fifty-seven years, and the rabble of Peter the Hermit, whom the Greeks represent as illiterate barbarians who did not even know their alphabet, destroyed whatever their predecessors the Greek fanatics had spared. The fifth and last cause seemed to consummate the devastation of this devoted city. The Turks were disposed to obliterate every trace of what had been spared by their predecessors. The Sultan when he entered set the example, by striking with his mace the head of the brazen serpent, which the barbarians considered as one of the idols or talismans of the city. This headless monument remains at this day, to attest the commencement of those ravages with which the Turks commemorated their entrance into Constantinople. In fact, almost every monument above ground was rased, with the exception of Santa Sophia, which the Turks retained for their own use; and the only edifices which escaped were

* Ἐπὶ Λέοντος τοῦ Ἰσαυρίου πολλὰ θέαματα ἀρχαῖα παρηλυθήσαν καὶ ἠφανισθήσαν διὰ τὸ παντελῶς ἀλογίστον αὐτοῦ.

those which the earth concealed, the magnificent Cisterns, whose existence the barbarians do not seem to be well acquainted with to this day.

But you ask me where are the Pillars of Theodosius and Arcadius, built to rival those of Trajan and Antonimus, which still adorn ancient Rome, though erected so many centuries before? In fact, a few pillars are almost the only things remaining to attest the former splendour of this eastern capital of the world, and those few have been so minutely described by others, that a brief sketch of their present state will suffice.

By far the most ancient and interesting is that called the Brazen Serpent, which has been with so much ingenuity of research, and almost certainty of conclusion, traced up to the Persian war, and supposed to be the stand on which the golden tripod was supported, which was consecrated in the temple of Delphi by the victorious Greeks, and which both Pagan and Christian historians agree was removed to his new city by Constantine. It still stands in the Hippodrome, where it was placed by him. It consists of three colossal serpents of brass, twined together, having once had three heads issuing from the summit, forming a support for a patera or tripod. The Sultan Mahomet, at the taking of the city, struck off one of the jaws with his battle-axe. About the year 1700 the other two heads were destroyed in the night, and since then the Turks have gradually proceeded with the mutilation. It is now entirely truncated, standing without heads or necks, about ten feet high. It is generally a butt for Turkish boys to pelt with stones, an amusement they sometimes vary by pelting Christians in the same place, as I have experienced. A large hole is broken into the side of one of the serpents, and the cavity of the body filled up with the missiles that had been thrown at it. I

have often thought of and suggested the removal of this very interesting remnant of antiquity to some European museum, where it might be preserved. It affords a testimony of the most interesting period of Grecian history, supported by a train of evidence which Gibbon truly says "the guardians of the most holy relics would rejoice if they were able to produce."

Besides the brazen serpents, there stands in the Hippodrome an obelisk in high preservation, brought from the Thebaid in Egypt. It is supported on a sculptured pedestal, with inscriptions, half buried in the ground, but still very legible, commemorating its erection by Theodosius, in Greek and Latin. The sculpture in relief on four sides exhibits the Emperor with his sons Arcadius and Honorius, and other figures; but perhaps the most interesting part is that which represents the erection of the obelisk, and the mechanical powers employed at that day for the purpose, forming a diagram from which modern architects might take some instruction.

Opposite to it is the square column called the Colossus, erected by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. A Greek inscription assigns the reason why it was called Colossus *, because it was a wonderful erection of brass, like that at Rhodes. No part of the brass which gave it the astonishing character ascribed to it now remains. It consisted of plates covering the front, which the Turks have picked away, and nothing is to be seen but a tall, unsightly, four-sided column of rude masonry.

Of the objects which once dignified this spot, and which have entirely disappeared, are the Brazen Horses, which stood here in the Hippodrome, as in their most apposite place, and

* Ο ΓΑΡ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΟΣ ΘΑΜΒΟΣ ΗΝ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΡΟΔΩ
ΚΑΙ ΧΑΛΚΟΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΘΑΜΒΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ.

whose travellings through the world have been more extended than those of any other horses on record. According to Muratori they were originally fabricated in Persia, and when the Romans made a conquest of that country were brought to Rome, where they were in such high esteem that they were commemorated by being placed on the reverse of coins and medals *. From Rome they were brought by Constantine to decorate his new city. Other accounts state that they were the work of Lysippus, and others that they were made in Corinth of the celebrated Corinthian brass, after the sack of that city by Memmius; that they were brought to Rome to grace the triumph of Nero and then of Trajan, and were finally placed in the Temple of the Sun, and thence brought to the new city. A fourth account states, that they were taken from Chios by Theodosius the younger, and by him placed in the Hippodrome. Whatever was their early history, their subsequent adventures are well ascertained. They were conveyed from Constantinople by Morisoni to Venice. In the passage one of the horses' legs was broken, which he repaired, and then set them up before the Church of St. Mark. From hence they were taken by the French in 1797, and transferred to Paris, where I saw them on the summit of the arch at the entrance to the Place de Carousel, the objects of admiration and subjects of calembourgs†. In 1815 they again travelled back to Venice, where they now are. It is not without reason, therefore, that a modern Greek historian calls them, οἵ ποлυθρυλλητοι καὶ ποлυτύχοι ἵπποι.

Among the columns which exist outside the Hippodrome

* Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script., tom. xxii. p. 34.

† It was supposed that Napoleon intended to place a statue of himself in the vacant chariot, and one of the calembourgs circulated at the time was *c'est char l'attend*—le charlatan.

the most perfect perhaps is that of Marcian, standing in a private garden, called commonly Kiztash, or the Virgin's Stone, by the Turks, from a tradition of a pillar erected to Venus in this place by Constantine; but this name I found was not confined to one pillar. It is of the Corinthian order, with an effaced Latin inscription on the pedestal.

Another is named by the Turks Daikili Tash, or the Burnt Stone, because it has suffered severely from the conflagrations which consumed the houses in its vicinity; and to keep it from separating into many fragments, into which it was split by the heat, it was judiciously bound together by metal rings*. It is composed of a base of marble and eight blocks of red porphyry, each ten feet high, and twelve in diameter, ascending originally to the height of one hundred and twenty feet; the joints are concealed by bands of laurel leaves, and the whole resembles one solid block. The circumstances of its erection gave it an interest to the Greeks of the Lower Empire, and does so to the Greeks of the present day, which far exceeds that of every other remnant of antiquity.

When Constantine had abjured Paganism, and made Constantinople the capital of the Christian world, he erected this pillar to commemorate the event, and inscribed on its base that his new city was placed under the protection of Christ †. To give it the greater solemnity he deposited beneath within its foundation relics at that time deemed most precious: one of the nails which had fastened our Saviour

* Vicinis incendiis ustulata multis locis agit rimas, et ne desiliat, crebris circulis ferreis revincitur.—Busbeq., p. 69.

† ΣΟΙ ΧΡΙΣΤΕ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ΚΟΙΡΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ
ΣΟΙ ΝΥΝ ΠΡΟΣΗΞΑ ΤΗΝΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΔΟΥΛΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ
ΚΑΙ ΣΚΗΠΤΡΑ ΤΑΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΡΩΜΗΣ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ
ΦΥΛΑΣΣΕ ΤΕ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΣΩΣΕ ΕΚ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΒΛΑΒΗΣ.

to the Cross, which had just then been discovered by his mother Helena, and a fragment of the bread which was preserved after the miracle of the five barley loaves, with which He had fed five thousand persons. The Emperor and his people always descended from their horses, and made a profound reverence in passing the pillar, and hence it was called Ἱερον, and held in the highest respect, as well from the cause of its erection as from the sacred things it contained within its base. The column was surmounted by a splendid figure of Apollo, the tutelary deity of the Emperor before he embraced Christianity, whom he has commemorated on many of his coins, and after whom he called the Christian Sabbath *Dies Solis*, an example which we follow at this day by naming it Sunday.

The pillar was some time after struck by lightning, and the statue with its first joint cast down. In this state it continued till the time of the Comneni, one of whom erected a cross where the heathen statue had stood, and added another inscription, implying that he had repaired it*. About forty years ago a great fire in the neighbourhood consumed all the houses about it, and did the pillar further injury. It stands in a quarter of the town called Taoukbazar, which formerly was the residence of European Ambassadors, and was just opposite the hotel where Busbequius lodged †. It is now a narrow, dark, and dirty spot. The pillar is encircled by a wall, so that it is not easy to approach. It is not surmounted by any cross, but presents the appearance of a ferruginous, dingy stump, to which the action of the fire, as well as the colour of the stone, contributes, while the bands

* ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΦΘΑΡΕΝ ΧΡΟΝΩ
ΚΑΙΝΕΙ ΜΑΝΘΗΑ ΕΤΣΕΒΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ.

† Sita est ex adverso diversorii in quo Cæsareos oratores hospitari mos est.—Busb., p. 68.

round it give it the semblance of a tall barrel, the staves of which were kept together by iron hoops.

But in order to satisfy your inquiries with respect to the Pillars of Theodosius and Arcadius, I have searched the city and ransacked its chronicles, and the following is the result.

There were two celebrated marble columns in the city of Constantinople when it was taken by the Turks, one called the Pillar of Theodosius, and the other the Pillar of Arcadius, built after the model of the former.

The Pillar of Theodosius stood in the Forum of Taurus, in the Seventh Region of the city, which extends to the Sea of Marmora*. It was formed of blocks of marble, was hollow within, and had winding stairs ascending to the summit, on which was placed the statue of Theodosius †. As this part of the city was much shaken by earthquakes, the column suffered in common with it, so that it was much shattered, and the statue thrown down‡ in the year that ancient Rome was taken§. This loss, however, was afterwards supplied by Anastatius Dicorus, who erected his own in its place ‖, but this was also dislocated like the former. When the Franks took possession of Constantinople, they led Murzulphus the Tyrant to the summit of the pillar, and cast him down as a punishment for his crimes¶. It was also made use of

* Hæc ad mare seipsum inclinat.—Vet.

† Τὸν τοῦ ταυρου ἔστησαν ὁ μίγας Θεοδοσιος· ἔχει δὲ οὗτος ἔνδοθεν καὶ ὁδον ἄνω φερουσαν.—Cedrenus.

Incepit regnare Theodosius A.D. 379.

‡ Ἐπίσι δὲ καὶ ἡ στήλη τοῦ μιγάλου Θεοδοσιου εἰς τὸν κιόνα τοῦ ταυρου.—Cedr.

§ Cecidit terræ motu eo anno quo Roma antiq. capta est.—Gil.

‖ Ἔστησι δὲ οἰκεῖαν ἐκ χαλκου.—Zonaras.

Incepit regnare Anastatius Dicorus A.D. 491.

¶ E qua præcipitem Murzulphum Tyrannum egisse Francos nostros.—Du Cange.

for a purpose not uncommon in the early ages of Christianity. A solitary man, in a fit of religious enthusiasm, fixed his abode on the top, like Simeon Stylites*, who, denying himself an earthly habitation, nor yet being able to attain to an heavenly one, remained, as it were, between both, an hermit in a desert in the midst of a populous city†. It appears also that it was called the Historical Pillar, from the sculptures in basso relievo on the base and shaft; and the Prophetic Pillar, because these sculptures were said to indicate the future fortunes of the city ‡.

The second pillar was in the Twelfth Region, on the Seventh Hill, which includes within it the district of the Seven Towers. It was erected by Arcadius §, on the model of the former ‖, and contained stairs within and sculpture on the surface. On the summit stood the statue of Arcadius, which, like that of Theodosius, was also thrown down, and the pillar much shattered by an earthquake ¶.

When Busbequius visited Constantinople, two pillars were standing**; one of them was opposite the Caravansera in

* Simeon Stylites, dictus a columna xl cubitorum in qua cellulam sibi construxit. Vixit lvi annos quorum xxx in columna exegit montis jugo imposita.—Kartholt de Sæculo v.

† In cujus summitate solitarium latibulum habuisse, qui terrenam sibi habitationem negans, nedum cœlestem attingens, quasi inter utrumque medius, Eremum sibi fecerat in medio celeberrimæ civitatis.—Guntherus.

‡ Στοιχειωδεῖς seu fatidicus.

Τὰς ἴσχατας ἱστορίας τῆς πόλεως ἴχουσαν ἐν ἱστορίας ἐγγεγραμμένας.—Codinus.

§ Incepit regnare Arcadius Theod. filius, A.D. 383. Columna Arcadii in Septimo colle in duodecimâ regione maris confinio—*portam auream* in se continente.—Gillius.

The *Porta Aurea* is part of the Seven Towers.

‖ Ἔργον Ἀρκαδίου ὁμοιον κατα παντα τῳ ταυρῳ.—Cedrenus.

¶ Σεῖσμος ἐπισκήπτει το Βυζαντιον μεθ' ὃν Ἀρκαδιου ἀνδριας ἐρρίπτο.—Nicephorus.

** Duo visuntur memorabiles columnæ, &c. One of these was the burnt column. Busbequius was sent Ambassador to Constantinople in 1554. His "Itinera" were published in 1582.

which he lodged, and the other in the quarter of the town called the Aurath-bazar, or Woman's Market, and which he calls the Pillar of Arcadius*.

In the time of Gillius but one remained; that of Theodosius had been taken down, and the remains of it removed about forty years before† by Bajazet, to make room for a bath which he erected on its site; but the Pillar of Arcadius remained entire‡, with the exception of the statue, and Gillius gives a minute description of it.

It was formed of marble blocks laid one over the other, and so well jointed that, if it had not been for the shocks of earthquakes and lapse of time which had displaced some of them, the whole would appear but as one single stone§. The shaft consisted of twenty-one blocks, the pedestal of five, and a compartment above the capital of two, making in all twenty-nine blocks of marble. The upper was thirteen feet in height, the next six, and the remainder five and four feet, making the height of the whole pillar one hundred and thirty-eight feet. These blocks formed a series of joints, like the vertebræ of the human spine ‖, hollow within, and containing steps leading from the base to the summit. These steps corresponded with the form of the parts of the pillar,

* Ei ab imo ad summam insculpta Historia cujusdam expeditionis Arcadii. Cochlidem dixeris propter structuram graduum quibus intus ad summam ascenditur.—Busbeq.

† Columnam Theodosii Baizites rex, ut commodius Balneum construeret, ante 40 annos quam ego Byzantium venissem, everterat.—Gillius.

Gillius came to Constantinople before Busbequius, and died at Rome in 1555, the year after Busbequius was sent there. The second pillar mentioned by Busbequius could *not* have been that of Theodosius.

‡ Columna Arcadii quæ etiamnum extat in Septimo colle.—Gil.

§ Omnibus adeo inter se conjunctis ut si vel terræmotu vel vetustate nunquam concussa fuisset, ex uno eodemque lapide tota columna constare videretur.—Gil.

‖ Conjuncti tanquam sponduli.—Gil.

those in the pedestal making a square staircase turning at right angles, those in the shaft a circular one, ascending in a spiral form round a central pillar, making in all two hundred and thirty steps of both kinds. The stairs were lighted by fifty-six apertures, like little windows, penetrating the outside wall, or crust of the blocks. The whole rested on three steps, the lowest formed of several stones, but the highest of a single flag, thirty feet square. These steps led to the entrance in the base of the pedestal, which was by a door on the north side.

The pillar was of the Tuscan order. The pedestal was surmounted by a cornice, the principal ornament of which was a torus, or circular moulding, formed of laurel leaves, bound with flexible fillets*. The surface was covered with sculpture exceedingly well executed, representing various battles, and ascending to the summit, like Trajan's Pillar at Rome.

When Spon and Wheler † visited Constantinople this pillar was extant and in good preservation. It is described as standing near the middle of the city, and erected in honour of Arcadius and Honorius. It had stairs within, and was covered without by basso-relievo figures of the emperors crowned with victory, and of women crowned with battlements, who represented the cities which these princes had taken. On different parts was the Labarum, or the cypher

* Torus laureatus alligatus vittis flexuosis.—Gil.

† Spon and Wheler visited Constantinople in the years 1675 and 1676. They say the figures on the lower part of the pillar were badly treated by the Turks, from an opinion that God will punish all those who presume to make figures of any animal. "Chacune de ces figures viendra lui demander son ame, à faute de quoi elles l'accuseront devant Dieu de leur avoir donné ce corps sans avoir pu en même temps un esprit pour les animer, et Dieu leur donnera une ame en punissant ceux qui auront eu la témérité de les faire." —Voyage de l'Archip. et de Const., vol. i. 136.

formed of the two first letters of the name of Christ, which the piety of the Roman emperors had now substituted for the Roman eagle. It is also mentioned by Tournefort, who calls it the Historic Pillar, erected by Arcadius, with the conquered cities represented by women crowned with towers, and the Labarum with the monogram IXNIKA. He says the bas-reliefs were of a good taste, but the Emperor was represented in a chair, with robes like a doctor of laws; that it was formed of white marble, and the height one hundred and forty-seven feet. He attributes the injury done to the figures to fire, and says nothing of earthquakes*.

The pillar thus described by Gillius and subsequent writers has also disappeared, but I had heard from a janissary that in the place where he lived, towards the Seven Towers, there was an old thing which he described in such a way as induced me to think it might be the stump of a fallen column, and as it was in the direction in which the Pillar of Arcadius stood, I thought it might possibly be the remains of it. So I took Mustapha, and with a friend went one day in search of it. We came to what presented the appearance of a rude mass of mishapen masonry, called in the neighbourhood the Kiztash, or the Woman's Stone. It was surrounded by a boarded partition, into which we were admitted, and found it formed a Turkish habitation, of which the Kiztash was a part. We entered it by a square door, and found inside a staircase, by which we ascended to the summit, both exactly resembling those of Trajan's and Antonine's Pillars at Rome. It was the square pedestal and part of the circular shaft of a column formed of large blocks

* Elle est estimable par sa hauteur, qui est de 167 pieds, et par les bas-reliefs qui sont d'un assez bon goût pour ce temps-là; c'est dommage que le feu les ait maltraité.—Voyage du Levant, vol. ii., Letter xii. 231.

Tournefort visited Constantinople in the year 1701.

of marble, five and six feet high, and admirably joined where they have not been displaced by violence. The pedestal is ascended by steps which form a square staircase, turning at right angles, and terminating in a circular staircase, winding round a central shaft. The stairs are lighted by square apertures, forming little windows; below is a square chamber, through which perhaps was the original entrance, and passing from it within is another, at the first ascent of the stairs. On the roof of this last is some sculpture, which seems of an inferior kind, and was probably added at some period subsequent to the erection of the column. The only part of the exterior which retains traces of its origin is a portion of a broad moulding immediately below the commencement of the circular stairs; it stands at the base of what was the shaft, and is exactly similar to the torus, or circular moulding described by Gillius, consisting of laurel leaves, bound by flexible fillets. There are besides a few imperfect remains on the surface, which seem to

be broken mouldings and the limbs and fragments of sculpture, representing human bodies.

The sketch of the perfect pillar annexed is taken from Du Cange, who had it from a canon of St. Geneviève at Paris *. It exhibits on the base the Emperor on his throne, surrounded by women with turreted caps, who represent his provinces and cities. The shaft contains his triumphal entry into his capital. It is of the Tuscan order, and has a torus of laurel leaves, bound with a flexible fillet. Du Cange gives it as a representation of what the pillar formerly was, and similar to one in the Campus Martius at Rome †.

It is probable, then, that this pillar which had women on the base, and stood in the Twelfth Region of the city, towards the Seven Towers, and that these remains of a column which stand in the same place, and are still called the Woman's Stone, indicate the same monument which is described by historians as the Pillar of Arcadius, and which was standing in the time of Gillius, Busbequius, Wheler, and Tournefort.

* Suppeditavit vir doctiss. Claud. Riolinetus ex monasterii Bibliothecâ.

† Et similem ei, quantum ex picturâ conjicere possum, quæ Romæ in Campo Martio posita est.

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FILLAR OF ARCADIUS.

CHAPTER XIV.

Account of Greek Church from a Greek MS.—First Patriarch under the Turks received a sum of Money from Sultan—This arrangement altered—Cause of it—Patriarch since pays the Turks—Attempts to extirpate the Religion of the Greeks—How prevented—First Learned Men—Greeks form a Constitution for themselves—Synods, how composed—Election of Patriarch—Turbulent Assembly—Conduct in Patriarchal Church—Revenue of Patriarch—Of the Synods—Jurisdiction of Bishops—Number at present in Greek Church—Peculiar Privileges of some—Revenue how raised—Patriarch of Alexandria—Of Antioch—Of Jerusalem — Dress of Ecclesiastics, once splendid—Why—Now very simple—Convents—Mount Athos—Thessaly—Cyprus—Mesopotamia—Mount Sinai—Holy Sepulchre.

THE Greeks of Constantinople have attracted so much notice, and been so long objects of public attention, that you will think the subject exhausted. Some particulars, however, have come to my knowledge which do not appear to me to have been yet made public. I obtained a manuscript account of the actual state of the Greek church in 1809, drawn up by the learned Ignatius, the Metropolitan of Arta, in the Sea of Marmora, which I know to be the most minute and correct, as well as the most curious, that has yet been written. The following contains some of the principal facts in a condensed form.

When Mahomet II. had suffered the Turks to glut their cupidity and gratify their worst passions, on their first burst into the devoted city of Constantinople, he proclaimed an amnesty for all who were left alive ; and in order to conciliate them and ensure their protection, he sent for Gennadius Scholarius, who had been the superintendent of the public schools, and invested him with the office of patriarch. He presented him with a large staff of ebony as the ensign of his office, clothed him in a splendid pelisse,

set him on a horse richly caparisoned, and assigned him the church of the Holy Apostles as his residence. He then made him a present of one thousand ducats of gold, assured to him the free exercise of his functions, and to his people of their religion. Shortly after an obscure monk appeared at Constantinople; and knowing the cupidity of the Turks, he presented to the Sultan one thousand ducats of gold, and supplanted Gennadius; a second monk, by doubling the sum, supplanted the former, and so the usage was established. Instead of the sovereign conferring on the Patriarch a sum of money to defray his expenses on his appointment, a rule which Mahomet intended to establish, every succeeding patriarch was compelled to pay a certain sum on his advancement, and the patriarchate became a matter of purchase, and continues so to this day.

The Mussulmans became soon after jealous of the favour shown to Christians, and sought an opportunity of ruining them. The church of the Apostles granted as the patriarchate was taken from them and converted into a mosque, and an obscure convent of the Panaya assigned in its stead; and it was thus the intention to withdraw by degrees all the recognised places of Christian worship, and convert them into Mahomedan; but this process appearing too slow, the Sultan, urged by the Mufti, issued an order to the Patriarch, that all the Greeks subject to his spiritual authority should conform to the religion of Mahomet. The Patriarch declared he could not, consistent with his duty, comply without first urging his reasons for not doing so before the Divan. This was deemed reasonable, and no obstacle to the project, and a full assembly was convened for the purpose, before whom the Patriarch spoke as follows:—

"When Constantinople was taken by the great grandfather of the present Sultan, a part of the city which the

most noble of the Greeks defended, surrendered only on the following condition. That at every return of Easter the gates of the Fortress should be open for three days, that the Greeks who lived outside the enclosure might avail themselves of the opportunity of going to their church."

The Turks admitted no proof but the evidence of living witnesses, and the judges demanded of the patriarch if he had any to prove the fact. Knowing the law, he had already prepared them. He selected some of the oldest and most venerable janissaries, to whom he had given large sums of money, and they came forward and gravely deposed they were present when these terms of capitulation were agreed to. The Turks were satisfied, though some of the witnesses were not born at the period; and the extirpation of Christianity was for that time averted.

The Greeks had hitherto neglected the arts and sciences, and everything like a regular organization of their civil or religious affairs: holding their lives at the will and caprice of their masters, they lived only for the day, expecting that on the next a period would be put to their scarcely-tolerated existence. They preserved, however, a strong and enduring attachment to the faith of their fathers, and neither threats nor entreaties could induce them to amalgamate it with that of their conquerors, as others of the vanquished people had done. They wished, after this vain attempt to extirpate them, to instruct themselves, and the Turks made no opposition; but the ambassadors of foreign powers at Constantinople, who had been indebted to their ancestors for their sources of information, interposed with the Divan to prevent them. Instruction was strictly forbidden, their worship was again menaced, and the orthodox faith of the Oriental church about to be extinguished to gratify its enemies.

At this critical time appeared some enlightened men who averted this threatened destruction. Theophilus and Miletius, Metropolitans of Arta; Chrysanthes Noturas, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Alexander Mavrocordato, were the first persons since the subjugation of the Greeks who had shown any superior intelligence. They had travelled through the enlightened countries of Europe, and brought back the information they had acquired to enlighten their countrymen; and the first effect of the knowledge diffused by their means was to give some organization to the state of their civil and ecclesiastical affairs, to restrain the unlimited power of the Patriarch, to submit the clergy to certain rules, to give to the body of the people representatives to conduct their affairs and manage their pecuniary resources; and they obtained permission from their masters for this purpose, as it furnished the best means of raising such a revenue as would appease the anger or conciliate the favour of the Turkish government.

A synod, formed of all the metropolitans and archbishops dwelling in the capital, was the basis of this organization. It was composed of eight resident ecclesiastics and the archbishops of Chalcedon and Darias, who, though non-residents, were near, and generally in the capital. This synod, with representatives from the nobility, the citizens, and the trades, formed a general assembly, invested with the right of electing the patriarch. All fiscal matters were regulated by a committee of twelve, formed of four representatives from each of the estates, and renewed every year, and, before their separation, bound to return an account of the receipts and expenditure to the Κοινον, or General Assembly. A seal was made by which all acts were impressed. It was divided into four pieces, which were consigned to as many metropolitans. The patriarch had a key which united

them, so that to give validity to every act, the concurrence of the patriarch and four metropolitans was necessary in sealing it.

The patriarch, in right of his office, is judge of all civil and criminal cases, as bishops are in their respective dioceses. He is assisted by a particular synod, composed of ecclesiastics and laymen in his immediate employment. This tribunal is opened twice a week with great ceremony, and the patriarch administers justice in it with the same formalities as the Grand Vizir, having a guard of janissaries to execute his orders. The code of laws adopted is that of Justinian, and the judge has the power of sending the convicted to the galleys, to the prison of the Bagnio, to the fortresses, to a prison of his own, or into exile, as he shall decree, without being responsible to any one for his sentence. An extraordinary privilege is granted to this tribunal. When a Christian is under capital condemnation by the Porte, the guards of the patriarch may seize him and save his life, by sending him to the galleys. Such was the reputation of this court of justice before the insurrection, that Turks and Jews preferred appealing to it in preference to their own.

Besides these there is a grand synod, composed of the patriarch and metropolitans only, which possesses a kind of absolute authority, as well in ecclesiastical as in temporal matters. To this are referred all the sentences pronounced by the bishops in their respective dioceses, and to this all the firmans of the Turkish government are directed. On every Sunday and festival the metropolitans assist at divine service, after which they retire to the sanctuary, from whence they are summoned by the patriarch to a grand hall, where they transact business. All affairs of the Greeks in the last resort are referred to this synod, and it frequently sends

memorials to obtain firmans of the Porte to carry its decrees into execution. These firmans are founded on the recognised privileges of Christians, whether from assent, usage, reason, or justice, and the Porte never refuses.

The patriarch is entitled "Archbishop of Constantinople, or New Rome," and "Œcumenic Patriarch," and addressed as "Most Holy" and "Despot." He celebrates divine service three times in the year in the patriarchal church, viz., Christmas, the First Sunday in Lent, and Easter.

It had been the practice of the Greek emperors frequently to displace the patriarch, and allow him to retain his power but a short time, as they dreaded the spiritual influence he might acquire. This custom the Turks were glad to adopt, in order to obtain the sum paid on every new appointment; but they do it by indirect means, leaving the semblance of deposition to the synod. When it is decided on, an officer is sent by the Porte, who conducts the patriarch to some place appointed for his exile. A corps of janissaries is then despatched, who take possession of the patriarchate till another is elected by the synod. He is then conducted to the Porte, wrapped in a white robe embroidered with yellow flowers, presented to him by the Grand Vizir. He then pays visits of ceremony to all the Turkish officers, and is finally conducted to the patriarchate. The new patriarch is generally an old and feeble man; yet he is presented with horses richly caparisoned, and escorted by soldiers with military honours.

Four patriarchs had been deposed and elected during my first residence in Turkey. On the execution of Gregory, Eugenius was appointed in his place. He was led into the palace under the hanging body of his predecessor; and a short time after some Turkish rabble broke into the patriarchate, destroyed his chair of state, and attempted to murder

himself. His calpac was cut through with the blow of a sabre, but the thick covering saved his life. He never recovered from the shock, and he died in the following year under the impression of terror. He was not permitted to be buried at Arnaut Kui, because he must pass the palace of the Sultan at Beshiktash, so he was interred at Haskui, and laid beside the Jews who had treated his predecessor with such indignity.

On Friday following a firman was issued for electing a new one, and Petropolo, the Megalos Logothetos, was directed to inform the synod they might choose whom they pleased, even any of the six bishops then confined in the prison of the Bostangee Bashi. On the next day the synod assembled, and I proceeded to witness the ceremony. The hall of election was a large square apartment, with a divan running round it. Here eight bishops and five hundred delegates of the esnafs, or trades, assembled. On the divan were seated the ecclesiastics and the most respectable of the delegates. The common people occupied the middle of the room; they seemed to be of the lowest and meanest class, and there was a rudeness and want of order in the proceedings of the assembly that reminded me of the εκκλεσιαι of their turbulent ancestors. In this assembly three candidates were proposed, the archbishop of Thessalonika and the bishops Syra and Chalcedon. The first of these was the choice of the clergy, but the last was the choice of the people. He was one of those confined in prison, and there seemed to be much sympathy for his fate. Five qualities were required of the candidate, experience, prudence, ability, science, and, above all, fealty to the Turkish government. The people cried out that he possessed them all. A short and turbulent debate ensued on the respective merits of the others, when the people shouted with one voice, "Halkedhony Anthemis," and having overcome all opposition, An-

themis, bishop of Chalcedon, was elected by acclamation. Among the persons most active on this occasion was a Greek tchelebi, or gentleman, named Georgio Katembasi, of my acquaintance. He had been a proscribed man, and a short time before I saw him in disguise in close concealment. But on this occasion he could not be restrained; he came forth to exercise his franchise at all hazards, and no ancient Greek could be more tenacious of it or zealous in supporting it, though it might cost him his life. By his exertions principally the patriarch was elected.

The fate of this patriarch was singularly diversified. He was a native of Constantinople, and appointed, early, bishop of Smyrna. On the first burst of the insurrection he was arrested there and cast into prison, On the death of the bishop of Chalcedon he was appointed to his see by the late patriarch, and his appointment confirmed by the Turks, who knew and cared so little for the bishops, that they were not aware he was then in prison. He was liberated, however, and was but ten days at large in his new see, when he was again arrested and cast into the prison of the Bostangee Bashi, from whence he was now taken and placed at the head of the Eastern church.

The next day, Sunday, a deputation proceeded to the prison of the Bostangee Bashi, brought their patriarch forth, and conducted him to the cathedral. He had proceeded to the Porte, where he was presented with a white horse, a black cowl, a caftan of flowered silk, and the ebony pastoral staff, according to usage. A Greek priest had been despatched to the palace to bring us over to the ceremony, and we found stalls prepared for us. When the patriarchal procession arrived at the church, they lighted their tapers, and entered. The crowd crushed in after him, and became ungovernable. All sanctity of the place or day was for-

gotten, and the tumult was like that of a mob at a fair. He was accompanied by a janissary with a baton, who thumped the people on each side with the point, apparently breaking their ribs. It was with much difficulty he at length conducted the patriarch to the altar, whose robe was frequently torn from his back by the number of hands that had seized it in order that it might be kissed. It would naturally be supposed that the sufferings of the Greeks at this time had left such an impression of terror as would render them tractable—their behaviour was a strong proof of the excitability of their character. One fellow clambered on a large apparatus erected in the church for the ceremony, and nearly dragged it down on the heads of the people; and when the janissary attempted to dislodge him he kicked him in the mouth, till I thought the Turk would have sheathed his yatagan in his belly; but he merely walked out of the church with an air as if his dignity was offended, and left the impracticable rabble to themselves.

The patriarch now turned round to the people, holding in one hand a scroll, and in the other a lighted taper, twisted into three heads to represent the Trinity, and moving this over their heads, the stormy wave of the multitude was instantly lulled, and they listened with profound attention to the contents of the scroll, which consisted of some exhortations on moral and religious duties, and they answered with a deep and spontaneous response—Amen. From hence the patriarch was conducted to his throne, and the ιερος κερυξ, or the preacher appointed for the occasion, ascended the pulpit. He was an eloquent man, and delivered his address without notes. He strongly inculcated the necessity of Christian duties to the constituted authorities, and particularly to the Sultan as supreme, whom he called Vasilevs (βασιλευσ). This was succeeded by another

address of the patriarch from his place. He stated that his elevation was most unexpected, from a prison to a throne, and not being able to account for it by human means, he attributed it entirely to Providence. He stated that authorities were ordained of God, and exhorted the people to obedience, in the words and after the manner the Apostles exhorted the primitive Christians to obey the Romans. He then laid aside his crown and held out his hand to be kissed. The tumult which had subsided during the address began with increased clamour, every one pressed forward, climbing over each other's back, and his hand was seized by so many at once that he was nearly dragged out of his throne. Those who could not reach it caught his robe, and pulled it in different directions, till it was nearly torn to pieces. It was necessary again to call in the guards to keep order. Some chouashes returned with large thong whips: they laid without mercy on the heads and faces of the crowd. In vain the patriarch interposed. He was at length compelled to make his escape from his unruly flock, which he effected with much difficulty by the aid of his Turkish guards.

When he returned to his palace we paid him a visit of ceremony. We found him in the synod chamber, sitting cross-legged on the corner of his divan. The patriarch of Jerusalem and eighteen archbishops and bishops were ranged along the sides of the apartment, and a crowd of visiters filled the lower end. We were disposed to kiss his hand in the usual form, but he would not permit us. He placed us sitting close beside us, and when apprized that I was the chaplain to the British embassy he seemed highly gratified. He said it was chiefly through the interference of the Elchi Bey that the election had taken place, and the patriarchal chair had not remained unfilled; and requested me to return him thanks for his nation in general, and his own

obligation in particular. After sitting in familiar conversation with him for some time, objects of gaze and wonder to the distant crowd of visiters, we retired, the worthy man rising and blessing us at our departure.

In order to support the patriarchal dignity, and provide a fund to answer the demands made on the Greek church, various sources of revenue are adopted. The patriarch, as bishop of Constantinople, has the power of confirming the last will and testament of all Greeks who die within the extent of his jurisdiction, on which arises a fee proportioned to the value of the property, varying from fifty to one thousand piastres; the right of nominating to all cure of souls in his diocese, each nomination producing from five to seven thousand piastres; the right of inheriting all the property left by monks in his diocese; fees upon the administration of civil justice, and which bear a strong oriental stamp, being given in the form of presents by all who gain their causes, or acquire by his decree possession of any property; the fees of his chancery; presents made by archbishops and metropolitans who are nominated to vacant offices, each person never offering less than one or more than seven thousand piastres; besides which every one who comes to the metropolis on his affairs sends a douceur, varying from five hundred to one thousand piastres, a usage which extends to laymen as well as ecclesiastics; acts of confirmation of the privileges of monasteries, with the first fruits arising from every bishopric in his diocese, and a gift varying from fifty to five hundred piastres from every other bishop. The revenue arising from all these sources is very considerable, which the patriarch expends in succouring the poor, supporting a respectability conformable to his estate, and providing for himself a fund to live on, should he be suffered to live, after his deposition.

Besides this income of the patriarch, which is exclusively his own, there is another which belongs to the church, both fixed and fluctuating. The first is an annual tax paid by all bishops and metropolitans, producing about one hundred thousand piastres annually. The second is that which is paid on their consecration; this is proportioned to the value of their sees, the poorest paying ten thousand, and the richest a sum amounting even to two hundred and fifty thousand piastres. This money, which they have not yet received, is borrowed from certain banks in Constantinople, and the loan is charged on the income of their diocese, and gradually discharged. From this revenue the synod pays the Turkish government forty thousand piastres annually, as compensation for the tribute owed by each prelate to the Sultan—gives a rich present to every new minister on his appointment—satisfies or appeases the wrath of the divan, when they make complaint for some real or supposed delinquency of Greeks, who are suspected of favouring Christians in their wars with the Turks. Any surplus is expended on the support of the patriarchate. The draughts on this chest generally so exceed its income, that it is always in great distress.

The bishops of the several dioceses are secured in their privileges and the exercise of their functions, civil and ecclesiastical, by a written diploma given to each by the Porte, and registered in the archives. They are declared free and independent in everything which relates to the exercise of the Greek religion, and in the administration of civil justice. They preserve the rights accorded to the Greeks by the government, and no local authority in the country can interfere with them. They pay no tax or duties on their incomes or rents. They are allowed a prison to confine delinquents. They are permitted to dress with the same magnificence, and to be attended with the same cortege

as the grandees of the Turkish empire, a privilege interdicted to every other class of persons in Turkey; and finally, they cannot be called before any tribunal except the divan of the Sultan.

Under the Lower Empire the number of prelates was unlimited and uncertain; they are now restricted to one hundred and fifty, of whom sixty are suffragan bishops. Three of them claimed the right of independence on any superior authority, the bishops of Ockri and Pekia, in Albania, and of the isle of Cyprus. The two first have lately recognized the power of the synod of Constantinople, as a protection against Turkish tyranny, which their nominal independence could not afford them; the last preserves a show of independence, still wears a robe of purple, holds a sceptre instead of a crosier, writes with red ink, and assumes the title of Μακαριοτατος, or "Most Blessed." The civil government of the island is confided to him, and even the military Turkish governor must consult him. These privileges were found very fanciful and an inefficient protection when the Greek insurrection broke out, and the island was visited with Turkish vengeance.

The Christian ecclesiastics were deprived of their income by the conquerors, which was conferred on mosques, imarets, and other Mahomedan establishments; and by this means two-thirds of their revenues under the Lower Empire are now directed into this channel, and the bishops of the Greek church have no permanent property: yet the Turkish government deemed it necessary that they should support a certain rank and dignity, as essential to the efficiency of the government they wished them to exercise under them, and they therefore assigned to them other means of support. Every family is obliged to pay a certain capitation annually, amounting to the third part of a Turkish piastre, to the

bishop; and as this is afterwards commuted for produce of the land, it is now valued at ten piastres each: besides which, every priest in his diocese assigns to him two ducats; every layman pays one piastre for his first marriage, for his second, twelve, and so in proportion for every future one; the heirs of every person buried give a certain sum, varying from ten to one hundred piastres; every monastery and every church a fixed sum, varying according to their means; and the bishop becomes the heir of all monks and nuns, and receives besides liberal contributions from the pious while living, and considerable property left by the deceased. The income arising from these sources generally enables the bishop to live with respectability, answer the demands on him for charity, pay his contributions to the public chest of the synod, and satisfy Turkish rapacity, when from any pretext it is excited and exercised.

Every bishop presides over a synod in his diocese, composed of ecclesiastics and respectable laymen, who form together a tribunal for civil and criminal matters; and in cities not episcopal is a similar synod, over which a vicar-general of the diocese presides. The title of archbishop is "Despot," and of a bishop, "Well-beloved of God." They are elected by the synod of Constantinople, and are usually selected from those ecclesiastics who have served from their youth in the patriarchal church, or are recommended by such as are Evergetes, or benefactors of the Greek nation. When the Turks, as they often do, interfere to set aside such an election, they are always appeased by a sum of money.

Besides the patriarch of Constantinople, there are three others recognized in the Greek church, the chief of whom is the patriarch of Alexandria. Under the Greek emperors he had a number of suffragan bishops; but the Christian population of Africa having become almost extinct, there

now remain to the patriarch only three titular bishops, who compose his court. But though he has lost the reality of power and influence, he has lost nothing of his titles. He is still called "Pope and Patriarch of all Egypt," "Father of Fathers," "Shepherd of Shepherds," "Pontiff of Pontiffs," "The Thirteenth from the Apostles," "Judge of the Universe," "Most Blessed Despot." The great majority of Christians in Egypt are Roman Catholics, or Copths; and as the few who follow the doctrines of the Greek church are altogether unable to support his dignity, the others are obliged by the Porte to contribute something towards it.

The patriarch of Antioch has no suffragan bishops, yet he assumes, besides other titles, that of "Pope and Patriarch of all the East." His principal income is derived from the Roman Catholics, who are compelled, like those of Egypt, to pay a certain tribute ordered by the Porte, having but few Greeks resident in his district, and even those few unacquainted with their own language. It was here that the atrocious outrage on humanity was principally perpetrated by the Turks. They cut out the tongues of the parents, that their children might have no means of acquiring their own language, and thus be compelled to learn that of their conquerors. So efficient has this barbarous expedient been, that the Greeks of those countries at this day speak only Turkish, and it was principally with a view to their instruction that the Turkish Bible was published. Neither the patriarchs of Alexandria nor Antioch have any influence or jurisdiction in these districts, and they generally reside at Constantinople.

The patriarch of Jerusalem is nominated and elected by his predecessor. He is addressed, among other titles, as "Pope and Bishop of Palestine." He has no revenue, but the church of the Holy Sepulchre supports him, and fifteen

titular bishops, who reside in the monastery attached to it. He has a synod composed of bishops and archimandrites, and participates in that high respect that is paid to the sacred place of his district.

Under the Greek emperors the clergy were not remarkable by any particular dress, and retained the same simplicity under the Ottoman. But a circumstance occurred which compelled them to distinguish their order. The Sultan Solyman was preparing for the invasion of Hungary, and assembled his forces at Adrianople. The patriarch, at the head of his clergy and an immense suite, proceeded thither to pay their respects. The Turks seeing this numerous body approach their camp, took the alarm, and supposing it to be the advance of an enemy, proceeded to meet them. Before any hostile attack was made the mistake was discovered, and to prevent a similar one in future the Sultan ordered the dignitaries of the Greek church to adopt a costume, by which they could be recognized at a distance. They therefore wore hats of bright scarlet velvet, adorned with rich crosses embroidered in gold. But this appearing not to accord with the simplicity of Christian prelates, they were allowed in time to alter it, and assume one more humble. Their present dress is singularly so. It was adopted from the monks of Mount Athos. It consists of a black crape veil thrown over a plain black cap, and falling down on the shoulders, and when the patriarch throws off the gaudy pelisse with which the Turks still clothe him at his election, he emerges as simply and plainly clad as the humblest ecclesiastic of any Christian sect.

As the revenues of the secular clergy were applied by the Turks to support mosques and imarets, so that of the monasteries was appropriated to the establishment of tekés, or monastic establishments for dervishes, and the comparatively

few that remain are under the jurisdiction of the patriarchs and bishops in their respective dioceses. They are much more numerous in the islands than on the continent, and are preserved there as a refuge to the people against the constant inroads of pirates. Wherever we landed we found one or more built with such massive strength that they resembled fortresses. The most remarkable of those now existing are as follow: Mount Athos, near the Gulf of Thessalonica, contains twenty-three, and it is therefore called the Sacred Mount. The rules of the convent are very rigorous, and preserve much of their primitive simplicity. They are the depositories of many valuable relics, particularly large pieces of the true cross, in one of which is still to be seen the hole made by one of the nails which fastened the hand or foot of Christ. The books of the church are all in manuscript, nor is there, I believe, yet introduced a printed copy. The discipline is so rigid that the females of all animals are excluded, and are not permitted to enter their enclosures. The ecclesiastics never eat meat, though they procure it for strangers who visit them. The administration is confided to a body of monks, of whom the president is a Turk of the imperial guard, chosen by themselves and approved by the Porte. Notwithstanding the security of this protection, they are plundered of those gifts which the pious pour in upon them; and though they have lands in Macedonia and Thessaly, the pashas, under some pretext, seize on almost the whole of the revenue.

When the insurrection spread into the promontory of Cassandra, the unfortunate monks of Mount Athos were induced to partake in it, or suspected to do so. Their convents, supplied with cannon, situated on precipices, and so inaccessible that some have no doors below, and the inmates, on their return from abroad, are drawn up by cords and

baskets, were considered as excellent places of defence, and crowds retired thither with much valuable effects. When Abdullabood, the Turkish pasha, had reduced Cassandra, he entered the peninsula of Mount Athos, and the timid monks at once submitted. The pasha exacted a contribution of three thousand purses, and, not content with this, he stripped the churches of their chalices and all their valuable plate. He spared the lives of the poor monks, but he executed without pity every stranger whom he found within their walls.

In other parts of Thessaly are similar monasteries built on the summit of lofty pyramidal mountains, and called "Meteor." They possessed considerable property, but were plundered of the greater part of it by Ali Pasha, of Yanina. Two of them are better protected. The abbot of Thensi had rendered some essential services to the Turks at one period, and he is still allowed to enjoy all his original privileges. Another at Ockri had the good fortune to be dedicated to a Saint Naum, whom the Turks also claim as a holy man of their religion. Whether he contrived to be both a Mahomedan and a Christian at the same time, does not appear, but the Turks respect even the infidel establishment consecrated to him, and they abstain from all exaction and oppression of its inmates.

In the island of Cyprus is the monastery of Kieas, which is celebrated for possessing the actual and identical portrait of our Saviour, painted in encaustic by St. Luke. The sacred picture is covered with a veil, and never shown except to those who make a pilgrimage to the Holy City. Hence it is that all Christians, on their return from Jerusalem, are enjoined to take Cyprus in their way, and visit this convent.

There still exists in Mesopotamia a convent of the Greek church. The Emperor Murad, when he proceeded to the

siege of Babylon, stopped there and was hospitably entertained by the monks. He therefore accorded to it great privileges, which are still respected, though the poverty of the monks and paucity of Christians in this remote district have suffered the edifices to fall into decay.

But the most interesting is that which exists in Arabia, on Mount Sinai, built by the Emperor Justinian, on the spot where Moses saw the burning bush. When Mahomet began to be formidable in Arabia, the monks sent him ambassadors to claim his friendship and protection. He accorded them all they demanded, called some of his attendants to be witnesses of his promise, and signed a deed drawn up for the purpose, not with his name, but with his hand, the impression of which was left on the paper. When the Mahomedans afterwards took possession of all Egypt, the monks presented this paper as their protection. The document was admitted as good evidence, and they were left uninjured. It was also presented to Sultan Selim, who acknowledged its authenticity, placed it among the archives of the empire, and gave the monks a copy, which they at present possess. The monks amount to sixty, and live with great simplicity. They possess a number of Arab slaves, whom they have converted to Christianity, and who live on the mountain around the monastery, protected from their countrymen. Some monks of this establishment are externs, and reside at Grand Cairo. They are all respected by the Turks for their simplicity and blameless lives, and exempted from any tribute. They elect an archbishop, who is consecrated by the patriarch of Constantinople, where he generally resides on a pension allowed by the convent. He was one of the most intimate and respected friends I knew in the Greek church, and is perhaps the most learned and accomplished of their ecclesiastics. His merit raised him to the patri-

archate, in the enjoyment of which dignity I left him on my last departure from Constantinople.

The last and most respected in the Greek church is that of the Holy Sepulchre. Every year pious Christians and those who visit Jerusalem send large sums to this convent, and the most opulent Greeks make it a point to leave on their deaths some legacy to it, either in money or property of houses and lands. The treasure it possesses is supposed to be immense, but its amount is never known, not even to the patriarch. The grand treasurer, who is the sole depository of the secret, is a simple canon. He selects a successor among the most taciturn and faithful of his brethren, to whom at dying he confides the secret, and so the spot where these immense and accumulated treasures are concealed has never yet transpired, though the Turkish government have often employed both threats and entreaties to discover it.

CHAPTER XV.

Doctrines of Greek Church—Dissent from Latin—Marriage of Priests—Exclusion of Images—Opinion of Apocryphal Books—Procession of the Holy Spirit—Translation of the Scriptures—Use of Leavened Bread in Eucharist—Elements of both kinds given to the Laity—Other points of difference—Superstitious Observances—Casting Cross into the Sea—Festival of the Fishes—Judas Iscariot burnt on Good Friday—Effigies of Christ on Easter Sunday—Paschal Eggs—Rising Sun—Baptism of Proselytes and Adults—Exorcism—Oblations for the Dead—Mode of Burial—Greek Liturgy—Chanting Service—Almanacs—Academy of Ayveli—Flourishing state—Total destruction—Academy of Scio—Of Korou Chesmé—Books—Schism in Greek Literature—Criticism—Explanation of Monograms—Libraries—Population.

THE doctrines of the Oriental church were first distinctly defined and published by Peter Mogislaus, a bishop of Kiow, in a provincial council held in that city. These were adopted by Parthenius, patriarch of Constantinople, in the year 1643, as the doctrines of the Greek church, translated into Greek, and distributed among the different dioceses. It made the scriptures alone the foundation of faith, as explained by the decrees of the first seven General Councils, and prohibited any private person from expounding them according to his own fancy. Their opinions, however, had at all times contained such a dissent from the doctrines of the church of Rome, and so near an approach in many points to those of the Reformation, that the Lutherans made an attempt to form an union with the Greek church, and to this end Melancthon sent to the patriarch a copy of the Confession of Augsburgh, translated into Greek. This was followed by similar applications, and in the year 1559 an ecclesiastic was sent by the patriarch into Germany, to

make himself acquainted with the exact doctrines of the new sect. The attempts, however, were at the time fruitless: the Greeks were so attached to the opinions and institutions of their forefathers, that though the different applications were received in a spirit of kindness and benevolence, the amalgamation was considered as impracticable.

Various efforts were made to effect a reformation in the Greek church similar to that in the Latin, and with more success, for though no sectarians have actually separated from it, and established a rule of faith and practice for themselves, yet the doctrines of the whole have been modified, and the Eastern church at the present day is reformed from many usages and opinions which the Latins still retain. I shall mention a few of them.

The earliest took place at the council of Nicæa, in the year 315, when it was proposed that the married clergy should put away their wives. It was ruled otherwise by the council, and the secular clergy at this day take wives, though the regulars do not.

In the year 717 another important reformation was effected. The excess of images in the Greek church became a subject of deep concern to those who thought them idolatrous, and a violation of the commands of God. The Emperor Leo Isaurus assembled a council of bishops and senators, who concurred with him in removing all images of the Deity, or any inferior being, from the sanctuaries and altars of the churches, as unfit objects of adoration. This attempt was violently opposed by the Roman Pontiff Gregory II., who instigated the Latin people to revolt, and Germanus, the patriarch of Constantinople, to resist his sovereign's authority. Leo exiled the patriarch, and persisted in his reformation, which was marked by that violence and intemperate zeal, which distinguished the reformers of the western church,

and from the same cause, an uncompromising animosity against what they thought a breach of God's commands. Efforts were afterwards made to restore the images to their places, and Theodora, the mother of Michael, during the minority of her son, to a certain extent succeeded; but the sentiments of reform which the people had imbibed were opposed to it, and at this day all graven images of wood, or any other material, are excluded as abominations from the Greek churches.

In the year 1621, Cyril Lucar was raised to the patriarchal chair at Constantinople. He was a native of the island of Candia, was brought up in Italy, at the universities of Venice and Padua, and whatever bias his early education gave him was certainly in favour of the tenets of the Latin church. Several dogmas of the Oriental church were in a very unsettled state, and he drew up a Confession of Faith to settle these points, and published it as the orthodox belief of the church of which he was the head, and had it printed at the patriarchal press, then first established. The Confession consists of eighteen articles, and four answers to supposed questions, and commences with the following exordium:—"Cyril, patriarch of Constantinople, to those who inquire concerning the faith and religion of the Greeks, or Eastern church, what it thinks, to wit, of the orthodox faith, in the name of all Christians in general, gives this abridged testimony before God and man, in good conscience, and without any dissimulation." The opinions are supported by copious references to the scriptures alone, and one of the most remarkable articles is that which distinguishes between the authenticity of the canonical and apocryphal books, declaring those only which the Council of Laodicæa, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, puts forth as the former, and the latter such as had not the inspiration of the

Holy Spirit *. The books enumerated as canonical are those exactly which the reformed church acknowledges. Though several articles of this Confession were afterwards dissented from by the successors of Cyril, who fell a victim to the intrigues of his enemies, this one remained unrevoked, and in all the editions of the Bible printed at Venice by Glyky, for the use of the Greek church, the apocryphal books are called ecclesiastical, and distinguished from the canonical as they are in our Bible. Interested to know whether such was the opinion of the present day, I consulted my venerable friend the archbishop of Mount Sinai, the present patriarch, and the highest authority in the Greek church, and he informed me that the Greeks make the same distinction as we do, not holding the apocryphal, or as they call them, ecclesiastical books, in the same authority as the canonical.

The Confessions of Cyril were, as might be supposed, violently reprobated by the see of Rome, and he and his adherents were charged with all manner of delinquencies. Father Taferner, a jesuit, came to Constantinople in the year 1667, as chaplain to Walter Count Leslie, ambassador of Leopold I. to the Sultan. He published a curious account in Latin of the state of the Greek church and its patriarchs in the Turkish empire. He speaks of Cyril as a wicked man, who destroyed whatever remained of orthodoxy in the Greek church, in order that his doctrines might correspond with his life. That the patriarch of Jerusalem

* Ταυτα δὲ τὰ κανονικὰ βιβλια τοσαῦτα τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι πιστευομεν ὅσα ἓν λαοδικείᾳ συνοδος ἀπεφήνατο καὶ ἡ τοῦ Χρίστου καθολικη καὶ ὀρθοδοξος ἐκκλησία ὑπο τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος φωτισθεῖσα μεχρι τοῦ παραντοη ὑπαγορεύει. Απερ δὲ ἀποκρυφα λεγόμεν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπωνύμον οὕτως ἔχουσιν ὅτι τὸ κυρος πάρα τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ὥς τά κυριως καὶ ἀναμφιβάλως κανονικα βίβλια.—Ερωτησις. ε. Then follows an enumeration of the canonical books, the same as the reformed church receives.

declared himself on his death-bed to be a Jew, had always continued one, and "would be buried after the manner of his stinking race," and that he then drew from his breast a declaration of Jewish faith, as infamous as that of Cyril, and ordered it to be handed to the Rabbins. The worthy jesuit then concludes triumphantly in these words: "Let the Greek church, rendered infamous by so many portents, now go and dare to evince itself superior to the Latin church in the purity of its faith*."

The Greek church was not indisposed to have the scriptures translated into the modern tongue, and the project was warmly patronised by the excellent patriarch Gregory, and his predecessor. The execution was intrusted to Hilarion, afterwards bishop of Tornova, and the printing commenced at the patriarchal press, where it would probably have been completed, had not the insurrection broken out, which caused the death of the good patriarch, and the destruction of the establishment. For some time the disturbed state of things suspended all such proceedings. The patriarch who succeeded was a timid man, and refused all interference without the sanction of the Porte. In 1823 Lord Strangford interfered, and part of the translation was sent to the dragoman of the Porte, who was well versed in Greek, and on his favourable report a formal permission was obtained, and the patriarch consented. It was deferred, however, under various pretences. He was a superstitious as well as a timid man, and some about him worked upon his fears by telling him that his two predecessors, who had sanctioned the measure, had met untimely deaths, and the same would be his fate if he engaged in the ill-omened measure; he therefore

* Velleque a contribularibus more patrio male olidæ gentis tumulari—Et nunc et præter morem ausit ecclesia Græca tot recentibus portentis infamata vincere tamen Latinam fide!—Tafern., Par. iii. p. 109.

finally declined it altogether, but it did not protect him from a premature death immediately after. When the measure was again revived, a division took place in the synod on the subject. The bishops of Cyzicum and Derkon opposed it, and threatened its supporters with a charge of Calvinism. This seems, since the fate of Cyril, to have been the most serious imputation that one party could urge against another. It intimidated or silenced the advocates of the measure; even the zealous Hilarion, who had published an eloquent apology in its defence, declined any further interference, and the types prepared at the patriarchal press for the purpose were finally sent to Corfu.

The divisions of the eastern and western churches is often marked by minute and scarcely perceptible things. At the installation of the patriarch I observed that he held the triple taper, which represented the Trinity, by two branches only; and in giving a benediction he bent one finger, so as to separate the little finger from the first and second. Those trifles which I thought were accidental and indifferent, I learned were carefully intended, and I found on every future occasion they were strictly adhered to, in order to mark the opinions of the Greek church on the subject of the Holy Spirit. You will recollect the controversy that arose in the seventh century on this subject, and the violence with which the disputants prosecuted it. The Greeks maintained that the Holy Spirit *proceeded* from the Father alone, and that the Latins interpolated the words *filioque* in the symbol of Constantinople. The spirit of the controversy is as strong as ever, and the Greeks avail themselves of the most trifling action to display it.

The divisions which occurred in the Christian churches in the eleventh century, with respect to the elements of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, still continue as marked

as ever. Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, drew up several charges against the Latin church, one of which was, that they used a wafer, or unleavened bread, in the Eucharist. Legates were sent by Pope Leo IX. to reconcile this difference; but, instead of doing so, they excommunicated publicly in the church of Santa Sophia the Greek patriarch and all his adherents. The patriarch excommunicated the legate, and from that time the schism continued incurable; and the Greeks would rather be subdued by the infidel Turks, than defended by Christian Azymites.

The distinction is at this day strongly marked, and the use of leavened bread in the Sacrament is the same as in the reformed churches of Europe. The bread is that in common use, but on the upper surface of the loaf is impressed a circle, containing within it monograms and figures. The first stand for ΙΗΣΟΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΙΚΑ; and the second are representations of Christ and the Virgin, holding between them a cross.

The elements also of the Sacrament are given in both kinds to the laity, which they affirm was the practice of the primitive church, and which they are bound to observe. On the authority of the Fathers, Justin Martyn says, in detail-

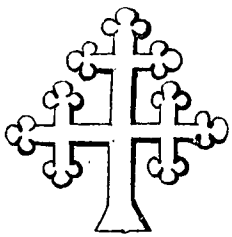
ing the usage of giving the Eucharist, the deacons distribute the bread and wine to each of the persons present, that all may partake of the Eucharist *.

Besides these differences there are others which I witnessed in various ways. They have no such ceremony as the Elevation of the Host, and pay the Elements no religious homage. They think, in common with all the Oriental Christians, that the intermediate state of the soul is not one of purgation by fire or other means, but a quiescent state of undisturbed repose; and their prayers and offerings are not for the remission of their punishment there, but of their sins in this life. They do not allow works of supererogation, or grant indulgences and dispensations.

Notwithstanding these approaches to the Reformation, the Greek church is marked by many superstitious practices and strange ceremonies. The morning of the Epiphany is distinguished by casting the cross into the sea, and on the 4th of January, O.S., I was witness of the ceremony. This singular usage took place at Therapia, Buyukderé, and all the villages on the Bosphorus. Before light in the morning the clergy and laity assembled in the churches, and after service a procession was formed, conducted by lanterns on poles, banners with emblematic paintings, crosiers, and boys bearing censers, and headed by the principal clergy in their vestments. They proceeded, attended by a vast crowd, through the different streets, till they arrived at the seashore, where they stopped, and the service of the church was again performed at great length. In the meantime a part of the crowd had embarked in boats, forming a large semicircle before the spot, leaving an open space between. Seve-

* Διάκονοι διδοάσιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου.—Just. Mart., Ap. 2—93.

ral athletic men stripped themselves, and awaited the conclusion of the service. When it was over, a priest in his vestments advanced with a wooden cross about one foot long, of the Greek construction, highly gilt, in his hand. The Greek cross is formed of three, representing that of our Saviour in the middle, and those of the thieves at each side.



He advanced to the edge of the water, and instantly the whole of the spectators were in the highest state of excitement. Seven naked men stood at a distance, shivering in the water, watching the motions of the priest. At length he hurled the cross with all his force into the sea; then it was that the clamour began. The naked swimmers plunged after it. They were cheered by shouts and plaudits by the multitude. Several reached the floating cross at the same time, and a fierce contest ensued. They struggled and scuffled, and at length all sunk together. One of them rose with the cross in his hand, and was received with great applause. He swam to the shore, where his prize was reverently taken, passed from hand to hand, and kissed with much devotion and many genuflexions. It was then returned to the fortunate man, who having by this time dressed himself, put it into his bosom, where he pressed it with eagerness, and brought it home. In the course of the morning a large silver dish was brought round, and a collection made for the

possessor of the cross, and the wine-houses were filled with groups of company all day, celebrating his triumph. I inquired from several what was the origin of this strange religious ceremony, which was attended with such a mixture of levity and devotion, but I could get no satisfactory account. It was called by some the "Baptism of the Cross."

On the 29th of April is the great festival of Balukli, or the Church of Fishes, founded on the legend I before mentioned. I met a vast crowd of Turks as well as Christians, as if the whole population of Constantinople had poured out to the plain before the Selyvria Gate, from whence to the church was one dense crowd. It resembled an English fair, where trinkets and refreshments were sold, and all manner of amusements were practised. Bulgarian minstrels walked about with enormous bagpipes, and groups of dancers went through the mazes of the Romaic, united together by a chain of white handkerchiefs. The crowd about the ruined church was more seriously engaged. They were eagerly receiving the water in vessels from the reservoir below, which contained the miraculous fishes. They then poured it upon their heads and bosoms with an enthusiasm of devotion, while those who were not favoured with this ablution, eagerly catched the precious drops on their extended hands, and applied them reverently to their faces and breasts. Among the crowd were various impotent folk, who were placed beside the water like those at the Pool of Bethesda, brought to be healed. They lay on carpets and blankets, which the pious and charitable had covered with paras. In different parts of the edifice were priests in their vestments, with relics displayed on shrines. They generally held large silver plates for the contributions of the people. One accosted me, and I promised him a liberal donation if he would show us the vivacious and half-broiled fishes. He

shook his head gravely, and said he was sorry the crowd had frightened them away. This church was the first that was dilapidated by the Turks at the commencement of the revolution, and the terrified Greeks were afraid for some time to observe the anniversary of the day. The Sultan, however, had issued strict orders that they should not be disturbed, and they now celebrated their favourite festival with a zeal and interest increased by its temporary suspension.

On Good Friday the effigies of Judas, dressed up like a modern Jew of Constantinople, is carried about the streets, and the procession stops at every door, reciting the service of his treason. Every one gives money or provisions, generally paschal eggs. The first is to buy wood to burn him, and the latter to feast on at his death.

In the churches on that day a figure is borne on a bier round the aisles, to represent the funeral of Christ, and the congregation show extraordinary sympathy, weeping and lamenting; some of the women in particular follow it close behind with deep and unfeigned sorrow, and shed real tears in great abundance. One female who represented the Virgin seemed as deeply affected as she could have been at the funeral of her own child. On this day also, and for some time before and after, paschal eggs are distributed. I could not find, on inquiring from the most learned Greeks, in what this custom originated, but several fanciful reasons were assigned. The Romans celebrated at the same season of the year games, and the prizes were eggs, because the circus was oval; the heathen Greeks dedicated eggs to Castor and Pollux, in memory of the eggs of their mother Leda; the Jews at their Passover dedicated a hard egg to the bird Zin. The Christians, both of the western and eastern church, adopt this usage. Pope Paul V. drew up a ritual for the use of the British island, in which they are

blessed on account of the Resurrection, and it continued long the custom in England, and is so at present in Ireland, to give presents of eggs on Easter Monday. The paschal eggs of the Greeks are stained red, to designate the blood of Christ, and chips of logwood and other dyes are sold in the streets for that purpose. Whenever we visited an ecclesiastic at Easter, from the patriarch down to the humblest papas, we found a basket of red eggs beside him, which he distributed to all visiters, and none but red eggs boiled hard were to be bought in the market, and in that state they were sent up for our breakfast.

It was the custom of the primitive church to rise before day, particularly on this festival, and celebrate their orisons till cock-crow. This is still the practice of the eastern church supposing it to be the hour when Christ rose. They salute the dawn with the explosion of guns, and their first address to those they meet in the morning is "Christ is risen." I have seen them watching on the sea-shore to see the sun dance on the edge of the horizon, and so indicate his joy at his rising on this glad morning, a superstition which prevails very strongly in Ireland at this day.

On the 6th of October is the Greek festival of the Mavropanaya, or Black Virgin, and a day in the Calendar is dedicated to her, under the name of Μαρια της Αιγυπτιας. I saw it celebrated with great solemnity in a large chapel beside the British palace. Among other pictures of the Virgin was one with a black face and hands, and a black infant in her arms. This was enclosed in a shrine, with an altar, in one of the aisles. Before it beds and cushions were laid, on which were stretched men, women, and children, labouring under different diseases, and who waited for miraculous cures.

The Greeks do not hold the baptism of any other Chris-

tian priest to be lawful: so that, if the ceremony be performed, they always repeat it again, with exorcism, on admission to their church, holding the opinions of the African church as delivered at the council of Carthage, that all heretics and schismatics should not be admitted till they were exorcised and baptized*. A Greek lady, the wife of a British merchant, whose infant I baptized, availed herself of the absence of her husband, to have it rebaptized by her own pastor, and had rather thus confirm the Raya subjection of her child to the Turkish government, than dispense with the ceremony of her own priest. The patriarch Kirlo, about fifty years ago, carried this still farther. He insisted that baptism should be performed by total immersion of the adult; and he issued an anathema against the Pope and the members of the Latin church, for not doing so, and many of his own flock were rebaptized in this manner.

Exorcism is generally practised by the priest against every thing that is evil. No house is considered an exception from the destructive effects of supernatural interposition, and this is evinced by the various persons and things which they suppose to suffer from the fascination of an evil eye, to be bound by some spell of enchantment, or driven by some demoniacal impression; to obviate this, there is a service used in the Greek Liturgy against the prevailing evil. The season of silk-worm spinning is very important to the Greek villages of Asia Minor. When we passed through them we found it was the practice to call in the priest, and exorcise all baneful influence which might impede or render abortive their profitable work. In the same way I met one day a papas of the neighbouring church in the palace garden.

* Censeo omnes hereticos et schismaticos qui ad ecclesiam volunt venire, non ante ingredi nisi exorcizati et baptizati prius fuerint.—Ap. Cyprian. p. 445.

He was reading a formula from his breviary, and I found he was exorcising the slugs and caterpillars, who had begun their ravages; and Nicolai, the Sciote gardener, adopted this as the only effectual mode of getting rid of them. The insect, however, most destructive is a small speckled moth, very pretty *. It forms a dense opaque web, as thick as gauze, which completely covers the trees, in which myriads of caterpillars are seen suspended and twining. When the web is removed, vegetation appears quite destroyed, and the trees dead, though they generally revive on the following year. This practice of exorcism, however, is usual in the Latin church. Horace Walpole, you will recollect, had a silver bell, which he said had been used by the Popes to anathematise destructive insects, and till very lately it was the practice of the French in Canada. The turtle doves are very destructive to the crops, and the bishop of Quebec every year solemnly excommunicates them.

On another occasion I was witness of the ceremony performed on a new house. The papas with his censer first purified the rooms; then, after reading the service to expel whatever might have entered, he dipped a brush of loose hair in a vessel of consecrated water, crossed every door, window, and aperture through which an evil spirit could again make its way, and when these precautions were taken, and not till then, the mortal inhabitants were allowed to dwell in it.

The ceremony called Σπερνα is a solemn service of the Greek church, in which prayers and oblations are offered for the dead. It is practised at the end of nine and forty days, and six and twelve months, and particularly in the first week in Lent, when I saw it performed at the church of S. Demetri. It consisted of a dish of boiled barley and sugar, mixed with raisins, having the form of a cross drawn

* A species of Ermenea.

through them. All was done in solitude and obscurity. No one was in the church but the priest who made the offering. He kneeled several times before the altar-screen, depositing the plate, and murmuring the prayer for the dead. The dish was then taken out, and distributed to some people outside, who did not venture to enter the church during the service. This resemblance between this ceremony and the similar pagan one struck me. The materials were the same: sugar, for the μελικρητον, honey; and barley, for the αλφιτα λευκα, meal.

The Greeks bury their dead in their best clothes, without covering, on an open bier, and the corpse resembles a man reclining on a couch. I seldom went out that I did not meet one so carried through the streets of Pera, attended by two or more priests and boys holding lighted candles. I joined one procession. When arrived at the grave, the body was taken out, stripped, and no covering left but the shirt, cap, and stockings. It was then deposited in the pit, with its hands crossed on its breast, and the priest took a tile, scratched on it a cross with the point of a knife, with the letters I C X P at the angles, and deposited it on the hands of the corpse. While the ground was filling in, the priest stood at a distance, and received contributions from the company, which he carefully reckoned. After each he recited a prayer for the state of the dead, and it was long or short in proportion to the donation.

The stones placed over the grave, like those I saw in Greece, resemble ours. The inscription commences in the same words, but the emblems, instead of being the cross or other Christian symbols, represent the implements of the deceased's trade—a scissors for a tailor, and a rule and compass for a carpenter.

The Liturgy used in the Greek church comprises three

formulæ: that of St. Chrysostom, which is used on ordinary occasions, in which I found the prayer which we use in our morning and evening service; that of St. Gregory, used every Wednesday and Friday in Lent; and that of St. Basil, on the first day of the year and Good Friday. A quarto prayer-book was printed and published at Constantinople during my first visit. The types were cast on the spot, the engravings executed by a Sciote artist, and the paper was brought from Venice. Annexed to it were the formulæ of consecration of the different orders of the Greek clergy. They are not indisposed to adopt our sermons, for which they express much approbation. I was applied to for some to have translated into Greek for the use of the clergy, and I gave the Second Homily, which was prepared and used in the churches, as I was afterwards informed.

The men are separated from the women; the former occupying niches, like small stalls, along the aisles; the latter are concealed behind lattices in a gallery. This is the usage of the patriarchal and other churches of the metropolis; but when there is no gallery, the women sit on the floor in the body of the church. There are no pews or seats. The service is sometimes exceedingly tedious, particularly on the eve of festivals. It sometimes begins before day, as was the practice in the time of Pliny*, and sometimes continues all night, strongly reminding me of the usage of St. Paul, who preached to the disciples till midnight on the first day of the week, and communed with them till the dawning of the day†. On the eve of the feast of the Assumption the service began at nine o'clock in the evening, and was continued, with various ceremonies, till five in the morning, without the smallest intermission.

A considerable part of the service consists in chaunting,

* Epist. ad Trajan. † Acts xx. 7.

unaccompanied by any instrument, and this is the universal practice of the Greek church in Russia. The instruments used by the Jews, mentioned in the 100th Psalm, were, they say, emblems, and shadowed out the organs of human speech. This they conceive to have been the practice of the primitive church, in which, according to Clemens Alexandrinus, the mouth represented the harp, the tongue the psaltery, and the lips striking together the sounding cymbals*. But certainly their music at present wants all the characters ascribed to it by the ancient church†. The modern Greeks seem to have no conception of counterpoint; two or three chaunt the recitative in unison, though not in tune, and in a tenor voice, and several accompanying in a uniform bass tone, in which there is no variation, exactly resembling the drone of a Scotch bagpipe. In fact, nothing can be more monotonous, and at the same time more dissonant, than modern Greek music, both sacred and profane.

The Greek church still adheres to the old style in their Calendar, continuing their hostility to any papal innovation even longer than the church of England. In consequence of this difference the same festivals are not held on the same days by the Latins and Greeks of the Levant. They sometimes, however, correspond. The ominous day on which the patriarch was executed was the festival of Easter Sunday in all the Christian churches of Constantinople, and the same coincidence of Easter took place in 1832. Their months and the number of days correspond with ours, and each has a double name in their almanacs, ancient and modern, as *ιάνόυαριος*, *γαμελιον*, and leap year is marked *ετος*

*"Η γλωττα ψαλτηριον—κιθαρα το στομα—κυμβαλον του στοματος την γλωτταν λεγει ἤ τοις κρουομένοις ἐπηχει χείλεσι.—Clem. Alex., Pædag., lib. ii.

† Ευρυθμῶς καὶ εμμελῶς καὶ εμμετρῶς καὶ συμφῶνως.—Origen de Oratione, vi., p. 7.

βισεκτος. Their week-days are denominated with more propriety than our barbarous mixture of pagan and Scandinavian mythology. Monday is δευτεραια; the second day, and the four next according to their number. Friday is παρασκυη, the preparation; Saturday, σαββατα, the Sabbath; and Sunday, ημερα κυριου, the Lord's Day. They never call it, I believe, ημερα Ηλιου, the Day of the Sun, as the primitive fathers of their church did after Constantine.

About the commencement of the present century the Greeks began to obey that literary impulse which the rest of Europe had imparted, and in obedience to it they established a college at Ayvéli. This place, situated opposite the island of Metelyn, about seventy miles from Smyrna, had been a poor fishing village, inhabited by about three hundred Turks and Greeks, till the year 1740, when a young Greek of the village, named Johannes Oeconomus, conceived the idea of giving importance to his native town. He left it for a season, visited the countries of Western Europe, and returned with the lights and information he had collected. Among his other acquirements he was a proficient in the Turkish language: so he first proceeded to the capital, had influence or eloquence enough to persuade the Porte of the great advantage of converting his town into a Greek city, and returned home with full powers for the purpose. He invited his countrymen, and to induce them to come, he drew up the constitution of a free government for them, and this was so congenial to the feelings of his nation, that crowds flocked to him from all quarters, till they increased to the number of forty thousand citizens. The town consisted of five thousand houses, built in a superior manner of solid stone. It contained thirty-six mills for the extracting of oil, twenty-four manufactories of soap, three large khans for the accommodation of merchants, two good hospitals, and

ten large churches, with a cathedral and bishop's palace. In fact, it was a free republic of active and intelligent Greeks, equal to any that formerly existed among their Ionian ancestors, in opulence, spirit, and a feeling of independence. Like them also they became jealous of their founder and benefactor. He was accused of wishing to subvert the free government he had established, and died in exile, a victim to his country's ingratitude.

As this was the most flourishing and enterprising of all the Greek communities, it was resolved in 1803 to establish here a college for the education of the rising youth of Greece. An edifice for the purpose was erected in a commanding situation on the sea-shore, and in its extent and arrangements was not inferior to similar establishments in Europe. Professors were appointed, who lectured not only on the languages and polite literature, but on ethics, physics, logic, rhetoric, and mathematics, and three hundred students from all parts of Greece were the number generally on the college books. Such was the state of Ayveli at the breaking out of the Greek revolution, and I was just preparing to visit it when I heard of its fate. It was too important a place not to be excited in the common cause, so it was resolved to proceed to it for that purpose, and on the 13th of June, 1821, the Greek fleet appeared before it. The Turks, apprized of their intention, had collected all the forces in the neighbourhood, and rushed into the town, where the fleet began to bombard them. The buildings were set on fire by both parties; the Turks retired, after massacring the inhabitants and pillaging their houses, and the Greeks, landing from their ships, completed the destruction of what the Turks had spared. The remnant of the inhabitants who survived embarked on board the Greek fleet, and were conveyed to other places; and thus in one day this flourishing

republic, with its college and all its mass of property, was swept away, and nothing now remains to attest what it had been, but ruins as desolate as any of those of its Ionian predecessors. About three hundred of its unfortunate inhabitants, including some of the students, were brought to Smyrna and sold as slaves for twenty piastres apiece, where some were afterwards pointed out to me.

Another university had been established at Scio, and was equally flourishing with the former when the Greek revolution commenced. On the year following it shared the same fate, and I have already detailed to you the picture of utter desolation it presented when I visited the island.

A third college had been established at Korou Chesme, on the Bosphorus. It contained, besides a library, various mathematical and scientific instruments, brought from England to assist the professors' lectures. When I visited it, it was not reduced to the state of desolation of the former, but it had felt the rude shock of the revolution, and was closed up and abandoned. It had left behind it, however, one memorial of its activity and efficiency which will hereafter benefit the Greeks. Under the direction of its active president, Demetrius Morousi, it compiled and published by far the most important work of modern Greek literature, a Greek Lexicon, called Κιβωτος. J. Blastos, a physician of Crete, had been engaged in compiling a Lexicon. He was sent for by Prince Morousi, and his book examined, and, being approved of, it was determined by the academy to enlarge it, having for its foundation the Thesaurus of H. Stephens. Several glossaries had been begun at this time of Greek excitement by individuals. These were all sought after and collected, together with MSS. in different monasteries, a commission of the college of Korou Chesme, consisting of four professors, was appointed to complete it, and

after ten years' labour they compiled the most copious Greek Lexicon, perhaps, in existence. It was called Κιβωτος, or "the Ark," for a fanciful reason; for, "as in that of Noah every form of existing animal was collected, enclosed, preserved, and afterwards scattered over the earth, so in this the forms of existing words were collected, preserved, and scattered over all Greece." The work is in large folio, in three parallel columns to a page. The definitions of words are illustrated by copious quotations from the ancient classics. The first volume contains seven hundred and sixty-three pages, and proceeds duly as far as the letter Δ. The first sheets of the second were at press when the Turks broke into the patriarchate in 1821, and the work has never since been resumed. It is highly creditable to the industry of the Greeks, and proves their intimate knowledge of the ancient classical language of their country.

Another work forming a remarkable circumstance in the literature of the Greeks of the capital, is a history of ancient and modern Constantinople *, compiled by the present patriarch when bishop of Mount Sinai, which he had written, but was afraid to publish, during the revolutionary movements of his countrymen. Availing himself of the toleration and security afterwards granted by the Sultan, the work was issued, and I found it everywhere circulated on my return to Constantinople. It contains a chart of the Bosphorus and plates of public edifices, and is an excellent guide for strangers who visit the metropolis.

The Greeks are beginning to adopt Lancasterian schools, and already above thirty have been established. The Greek clergy, however, are said to regard them with an unfavourable eye. When the churches in liberated Greece renounced all

* Κωνσταντινιας παλαια τε και νεωτερα ητοι περιγραφη Κωνσταντινουπολεως.

connexion with those in Turkey, and threw off the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, it was attributed to the influence of these schools; and the Papas are in hourly apprehension of a similar emancipation from their authority. Indeed, many reformations are meditated by the laity. Among others it is proposed to curtail the number of saints' festivals, which Demetrius Morousi, had he lived, would have accomplished.

There are two schisms in Greek literature on the subject of improving their language. The one proposes to adopt as the standard of propriety that which is at present spoken in the Fanal, and that which all the well-educated Greeks employ. The other wishes to make the nearest possible approach to the ancient language, by rejecting such words as are of Turkish or Frank introduction, and substituting genuine Greek words in their place. At the head of the first are generally the clergy, the Greek princes, and the upper class of the Fanal: the leader of the second is Korai, a learned physician, resident at Paris, and author of several works in the Romaic language.

You will judge of the critical accuracy of the modern Greeks by the following circumstance. The Prayer and Homily Society sent me some polyglot liturgies of the church of England, to present copies to the dignitaries of the Greek church. My object, among others, was to give them some idea of the prayers and doctrines of our church, with which they were entirely unacquainted, and so the better dispose them to forward the translations of the Scriptures, to which some opposition had been shown. I called, among others, on Chrypanto, bishop of Seres, who was afterwards elected patriarch, and presented him with one in ancient Greek. His critical eye at once detected many errors. The first was in the rubric of the General Con-

fession. "Here," said he, "are two faults; the first is δει ολον τον ομιλον; it should be ολον τον λαον." I recollected that this was a literal translation of our rubric, "the whole congregation," and told him so; "then," said he, "ολον is superfluous, for it is contained in ομιλον." "Again," said he, "μεταξυ τιθεντων is not Greek." I said μεταξυ governed a genitive case. "Yes," said he, "but τιθεντων is the genitive absolute, and has the force of μεθαξυ." I now happened to open at the prayer of St. Chrysostom, which he ran his eye over, and said, "Here is another error: χαριζομενος should be χαριζομενος, not the future but the present tense." I said, I believe the first was the word of St. Chrysostom himself. The bishop took up his own liturgy, and referred to the prayer—it was χαριζομενος. It should thus appear that the modern Greeks study their ancient language with the same care, and still retain some of that critical acumen for which their ancestors were so distinguished.

Nor is their knowledge confined to the literature of the classical ages of their ancestors, but they are well acquainted with the more barbarous and obscure remains of the Lower Empire, enigmas and monograms of all kinds, in which it was the pedantry of the middle ages to wrap up their meaning. On the remains of public edifices and various columns are to be found those obscurities which are not worth the trouble of decyphering, but which some of the learned have attempted in vain. The pillars of the cisterns exhibit those monograms, the meaning of which was, to me and the friends who accompanied me, utterly impenetrable. On applying, however, to my friend the Logothetes of the patriarch for a solution of one of these mysterious convolutions—

> "The Gordian knot of it he did unloose,
> Familiar as his garter."

You wished to know the import of those I copied from the cistern for you * ; it is as follows : ΚΝ stand for υπατος Κωνσταντινος, "Constantine the Supreme." ΓΘ-ΦΙ for εστυγε φιλοξενε, "Well done, Oh! Philoxenos"—Philoxenos, or Stranger's Friend, was the name of the cistern. ΚΥΝΟ-ΕΡ Κωνσταντινος υπατος νεαν ολβιαν εκτισε Ρωμην, "Constantine the Supreme built or created the rich city of New Rome."

Besides the private libraries of the Greek princes and of other gentlemen, which I mentioned to you were sold by weight in the streets at the commencement of the revolution, there are a few attached to religious houses. The most remarkable is that of the convent of the patriarch of Jerusalem. I presented him with a copy of our Polyglot Liturgy, which he directed to be deposited in the library, and I accompanied his chaplain to see it. It was a strong stone edifice, very dark and gloomy, erected in the year 1710. It contained four hundred and eighty-four printed books and three hundred and sixty MSS. in Hellenic and Romaic. The MSS. were all on paper, and of a modern date. The most valuable books were copies of all the Byzantine historians; but that which was prized most in the convent, was an account of the Holy City, containing a list of all the patriarchs, to the number of one hundred and twenty-five, from the time of the Apostles.

The number of Greeks resident at the Fanal, and in the villages of the Bosphorus, amounted to about fifty thousand on my first arrival at Constantinople. The upper classes consisted, besides the dignitaries of the Greek church, of eight families, who were dignified with the title of Princes, from whom the hospodars and voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia were selected before the revolution. These were Mavrocordato, Morousi, Ypselantes, Calimachi, Suzzo, Caradja,

* See page 100.

Hantcherli, and Mavroyeni. In addition to these, there were about three hundred eminent merchants, who had mercantile establishments at Constantinople and Pera, and correspondents in London, Paris, Vienna, and all the principal towns in Europe, and who paid ten millions of piastres annually to the Turkish Gombrook, or Custom-honse. During my first residence the dignitaries of the church were ignominiously executed; the princes were extirpated, and their families nearly so, the few that remained alive were pining in exile abroad or poverty at home; the mercantile houses were reduced to four or five, and these had borrowed English names and the receipts of their customs were almost nothing, while the active and flourishing population was so diminished by death, flight, and exile that not above twenty thousand remained behind. On my return, however, their condition was ameliorated. The insecurity of the new government of Greece, and the protection and encouragement of the Sultan, induced many to abandon the land of liberty, and return to the security of despotism; and it is probable that a short time will restore them to their former state of prosperity.

CHAPTER XVI.

Christian Sects—Nestorians—Chaldean Bishop—Account of his Country—Where situated—Present state—Government and Manners—Religion and Literature—Hebed-Iesu—Scriptural Books—Xenophon's Account of the Country—Buchanan—Sect of Eutychians—Armenians—Number at Constantinople—Clergy—Fasts—Opinions of the Eucharist—Marriages—Nuptial Taper—Shawl—Armenian Dinner—Domestic Habits—Discipline of Families—Cemeteries—Visits to the Dead—Singular Tombstones—Literature—Difficult Language—Lord Byron's Opinion—Partiality for English—Lancasterian Schools—Commerce—Other sources of Wealth—Ingenious Mechanics—Value to Turks—Schism—Persecutions and Exile—Restoration—Bulgarians—Indifferent Character—Franks' Privileges—Variety of Tongues—Peraotes—Pisani—Frank Burying-ground—Tombs—Hampden.

BESIDES the Christian doctrines of the Greek church, there are others still held at Constantinople. Among the various heretical opinions which early appeared in the East, and which are now forgotten in Europe, there are some which still hold their ground, and flourish with the same vigour as when they were originally devised. The principal of those are the doctrines of Nestorius and Eutyches.

The first appeared in the fifth century of the church. He was a Syrian bishop of Constantinople, and spread his opinions among the Christians of the metropolis. He held that there were two distinct natures in Jesus Christ, neither of which underwent any change; that the human nature alone suffered; and that the Virgin ought not to be called Θεοτοκος, or "Mother of God," as the Greeks denominated her, but Χριστοτοκος, or "Mother of Christ," in his mere human relation, because no inferior creature could impart that perfection to another which it had not itself to bestow.

This new opinion was the cause, like that of every other, of much violent contest; and when those who professed it were driven from Constantinople, they were received by the Christians of Persia. A school of theology had been founded at Nisibis, of which Barsumas the bishop was a great patron. Here the opinions of Nestorius were received with devotion, and propagated with zeal, and in the vicinity of which they are cherished at this very day by a distinct and separate race of Christians, called Chaldeans.

I was informed one Sunday, on my return from chapel, that a person wished to see me. I found in my apartments a venerable man, about sixty-five years old, with a long beard, turning from black to grey. His dress consisted of a blue cotton cassock, and over it a brown cloth ferridgé, or cloak, with hanging sleeves. His head was covered with a black cotton shawl rolled into a turban, and round his waist was a girdle of similar quality and colour. He addressed me in imperfect Italian. He gave me to understand he was a Chaldean, that his name was Simon Pietri Schevris, and that he was Christian Bishop Dgesiris among his people. He had been at Rome, and was now on his return to Chaldea, through Constantinople, accompanied by a Persian converted to Christianity, who had studied in Italy, and spoke Latin fluently, to whom he also introduced me. They were bringing back with them a Roman missal and several traditionary legends, translated and printed in the Chaldean language, to be distributed among the people of the country.

From this introduction I afterwards became intimate with the bishop. I found him a man of very amiable character, his disposition kind and good-natured, his manners gentle and cheerful, and as artless and simple as those of a child. He had suffered much peril and persecution from the Turks. He had been kindly received into the family of

Dus Oglu, the great Armenian mint-masters, who were executed for some alleged delinquency in their department, and this simple and inoffensive man, from the accident of being in their house, was cast into prison, and likely to share their fate. Finding, however, he had nothing to lose, though a bishop, he was at length liberated, and his poverty saved his life. He introduced me to some of his countrymen, among the rest to his brother, who had just come to Pera from his native land, and was seized with a dangerous complaint. I visited him during his illness, and was particularly struck with the affectionate attachment that subsisted between them, and the little attentions which, like loving children, they showed each other. As this Christian nation was very obscurely known, and I had now an opportunity of inquiring from many respectable sources, I availed myself of it to become better acquainted with it. The following is the result of their communication :—

A Nestorian sect of Christians, called by themselves Chaldeans, has, from the earliest ages of the gospel, inhabited the country on each side of the Tigris, at the foot and on the sides and summits of the great chain of mountains which lie to the east of that river. Shut out from intercourse with the rest of the world by the nature of the place, they are seldom visited by travellers. The face of the country is partly plain and partly mountainous, but the mountain tract is by far the most extensive, and so very healthy that the plague, which sometimes rages in the regions all round, has never been known to infect this district. The population consists of about five hundred thousand persons, who are all Christians. They are free and independent of the Arabs, Turks, Persians, or Tartars, in the midst of whom they are situated; and though several attempts have been made in different ages to subdue them,

they successfully repulsed them all. The last great effort was made by the Turks in the beginning of the nineteenth century, in which they lost one hundred thousand men and five pashas, and have never since attempted to invade them. The Chaldeans constantly live with arms in their hands, to preserve their independence, and they do not lay them aside even when they assemble in their churches for divine service on Sundays.

Their government is of a republican form, at the head of which is a patriarch, who exercises both a spiritual and civil jurisdiction. Their capital is Jolemark. It is situated in the mountainous region on the banks of the river Zabat, which rises in this high land, and runs from thence into the Tigris, where it is about four hundred feet broad. The city consists of one great street, passing through the centre, with several others branching from it, and rising up the mountains at each side. It is surrounded by a strong wall, protected by European cannon, which were some time ago furnished to the patriarch by French engineers. It contains in winter about twelve thousand inhabitants, the greater part of whom in summer emigrate to numerous villages which are scattered on the neighbouring hills. The distance of the city from the junction of the Zabat with the Tigris is about four days journey, or something more than one hundred miles. The patriarch does not reside at the capital, but at Kosharis, a smaller town situated higher up on the banks of the Zabat.

Besides these they possess Amedia, and several other towns in the mountains, rendered impregnable as well by art as by the difficult nature of the situations. In the low country their principal city is Djeziras, situated in an island on the Tigris, on the confines of Diarbekir. It is distant about thirty days' journey, or nearly nine hundred miles, from the

great city of Bagdad by land, but not more than half that distance by water. There are no other than occasional wooden bridges in this district, which are often swept away, and when the inhabitants have occasion to pass from one side of the river to the other, they sometimes use rafts formed of inflated or stuffed skins for the purpose. The mountains in some places approach so close to the Tigris as to hang abruptly over it, and leave no passage between them and the river. This town was formerly as independent as the rest, and exclusively within the jurisdiction of the patriarch. Lying, however, in a low, exposed situation on the confines of Turkey, it has latterly been obliged to receive a Turkish pasha as a governor. In the other towns a few Turks only occasionally reside. The exercise of their religion is tolerated, but not openly; they have therefore no minarets, and the muezzan is never heard calling the people to prayer; and if any Turk is seen in the street on Sunday during divine service he is immediately put to death.

They have no schools for the general education of their children, and no printed books among them; their knowledge, therefore, is very limited, and very few, even the better classes, learn to read. Instruction is confined to the clergy, as the only persons in the community who require it; and when a man is disposed to study, he must become a priest. He is then supplied with such manuscript works as they possess in the different churches and convents. Among these are the Holy Scriptures, translated into their language, which, though not printed, are sufficiently common in written copies.

They do not know themselves at what time Christianity was first preached among them, or by whom. They pay no particular respect to St. Gregory, the great Apostle of the East, whom the Armenians revere; and it is remarkable

that the Armenians and Chaldeans, though living in countries in the East nearly contiguous, insulated among Asiatic nations, and separated from the rest of Christendom, should yet be so separated from each other as entirely to differ, not only in language, but in the doctrines and discipline of their churches. Their patriarchs and bishops have not the smallest connexion. The Chaldeans at an early period adopted the opinions of Nestorius. Removed by their situation from the control of the Greek church, they retained the heresy in its primitive form, and are perhaps the only sect of Christians at the present day among whom it prevails. But though they were not influenced by the synods of the Greek church, they have not all rejected the authority of the Latin. Very early, missionaries from the college "De Propaganda Fide," at Rome, found their way among them; and at present they are divided into two hostile parties—primitive Nestorians, who hold themselves independent of any other church; and converted Catholics, who acknowledge a dependence on the see of Rome. Their church is governed by three patriarchs, Simon, of Jolemark, a Nestorian; Joseph, of Diarbekir, and Mar Elias, Roman Catholics.

The two latter, though acknowledged by the Chaldeans, are not properly of that nation, but reside in the Turkish provinces; but the former is strictly so, and in fact the Chaldeans of the mountains, who are the vast majority, have hitherto rejected all submission to the church of Rome, which denominates them heretics, as they still retain the discipline and doctrines of their church in their primitive independence. Among the remarkable events of their history is one which they speak of at this day with considerable interest. At a very early period a part of their tribe emigrated from their mountains and proceeded to India, where

they settled upon the sea-coast of the hither peninsula. They brought with them the original purity of Christian doctrine and discipline, before it had been corrupted by heresy; and this purity, they assert, they still retain in their remote situation.

Though the state of literature is very low at present among the Chaldeans, they have produced many authors who have written works on various subjects in their language. Among these the most celebrated is Hebed-Iesu, Nestorian bishop of Soba. About the year 1550, he was induced, when far advanced in years, to visit Rome, under the pontificate of Julius III. Here he abjured the tenets of the Nestorians, acknowledged the supremacy of the see of Rome, and was appointed patriarch of the Eastern Assyrians, in the room of Simon Salachi, who had been put to death by the Turks.

Among other works Hebed-Iesu wrote an account of all the books in the Chaldean language down to his time, a copy of which the bishop gave me. He commences with these words: "By the aid of your memory, O God! and by the prayers of every illustrious just man, and by the Mother of exalted power, I will attempt to write an admirable tract, containing divine books; and I will propound to the readers all ecclesiastical and profane compositions of all former and later writers; trusting therefore in God, I will begin with Moses." The catalogue contains the titles of two hundred and twenty books, with some account of their contents and authors, either originals or translations; among the latter are the sacred writings, and Josephus; the former are generally ecclesiastical or controversial. The catalogue also contains history, poetry, tragedy, and other subjects. A few are philological, and contain an account of the Chaldean language, particularly a dissertation on "Alphabetical Appositions." This states, that "some languages,

such as the Hebrew, Persian, Syriac, Cufite, Elamite, Midianite, Phœnician, Arabic, and Chaldee, not having a sufficient number of letters in their alphabet, were obliged to use points, or appositions, to explain the sense, which, without them, would be only a subject of conjecture or tradition. These points in Chaldee are two, placed sometimes above and sometimes below the word, and hence called siomê, or appositions, serving the use of vowels." It should appear from this passage that the Phœnician, and other Oriental languages, so entirely lost to us, were known to Hebed-Iesu.

Chaldee is read from right to left, like Hebrew, and has a greater affinity with Syriac than any other Oriental tongue. The following are the sacred books enumerated by Hebed-Iesu as the canonical scriptures of the Chaldeans, and translated into their language:—Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Paraleipomena, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom, Barascra or Ecclesiasticus, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Abdeah, Jonah, Micheah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Sophonias, Aggæus, Zecharias, Malachias, Ezra, Tobias and Tobit, Judith, Esther, Daniel Minor, that is, Susanna, Maccabæus; Mathew, from the Hebrew; Mark, from the Latin; Luke and John, from the Greek; Acts, Epistles General of James, Peter, John, and Jude; fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, and Apocalypse. There is also extant among them, a Gospel, compiled by Ammonius, or Titianus, and called Diatesseron.

The account which the Chaldeans give of themselves is curiously confirmed in some particulars by other testimonies.

The Ten Thousand Greeks, in their retreat from Persia, passed through their country, and Xenophon particularly

decribes it*. The face of nature, the names of places, the habits and manners of the people, are detailed in the same manner by the Greek historian and by the bishop, and his countrymen, after a lapse of two thousand years; it is probable that not one of the latter had ever read or heard of Xenophon. It is to be observed, however, that there were two people of that name. One in the south, inhabiting the shores of the Persian Gulf, who are frequently mentioned in Scripture † as great soothsayers, who were called in to interpret Nebuchadnezzar's dream ‡, and whose skill was celebrated by Cicero§. The other dwelling in the north, in the mountains approaching the Euxine Sea, about Trebisond ||, who, as well from locality as character, are the present Christian Chaldeans.

The emigration of their ancestors to the hither peninsula is also confirmed by undoubted testimony. It is well known that Buchanan found near the coast in that country, among the Ghauts, a race of Christians who had emigrated from Syria, or rather Assyria, at a very early period. They had preserved the purity of the faith as it was delivered to the primitive churches, without any of the corruptions afterwards introduced, and they held, by his account, nearly the doctrine and discipline adopted at the Reformation. Hence they were considered as heretics by the Portuguese, who came to this coast so many ages after them; and several attempts were made by the Inquisition at Goa to convert them without success. They still hold, like their parent tribe at the present day, their spiritual independence among similar mountains.

The bishop, shortly after my introduction to him, left Constantinople to return to his see. Through his mediation

* Anabasis, lib. vii. † Isaiah xxiii. 13; xlviii. 20.
‡ Dan. iv. 7; ii. 4. § De Divinat., lib. ii. c. 1. || Strabo, lib. xvi.

Mr. Lees had opened a communication with Simon, the Nestorian patriarch of Kosharis, and sent him, on behalf of the Bible Society, a number of copies of the Syriac version of the Scriptures, which, though not the language of the people, had such an affinity to it as to be legible. Instead, therefore, of idle legends, which were the only printed books they had hitherto access to, the pure and simple word of God was distributed among them. As these people had no church at Constantinople, I could not learn the number resident there. The bishop told me about five or six hundred. Some frequented the Roman Catholic places of worship and some the Armenian; some were servants, one or two of whom I knew personally resident in the families of Franks, others were keepers of baccul, or hucksters' shops. All I met had the same characteristics—mild manners, simple habits, and cheerful dispositions, dark complexions, black hair and eyes, and rather prominent cheek-bones, and seemed to have a strong mixture of the Tartar.

Among the persons who had opposed the opinions of Nestorius was Eutyches, superior of a convent of Caloyers at Constantinople. He ran into the opposite extreme, and affirmed there was but one nature in Christ—that his human was altogether absorbed in his divine nature, and that his humanity was a mere external appearance. Persecuted like the Nestorians, the proselytes to his opinions retired, like them, into the remote regions of the East, and spread their opinions among the Christians they found there. They were adopted principally by the Armenians residing in the mountains, near the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, who still continue to cherish them; and the opinions of Eutyches, with some modifications, are maintained at this day by all the various bodies of Armenians of the primitive church, to whatever part of the world they have emigrated.

By far the most numerous and important colony of this people is that which was brought to Constantinople by the Turks, after they had subdued the country. I was interested to ascertain the numbers actually resident, and applied to their patriarch for information. He sent me, by one of his chaplains, returns of the families resident in the capital, and in each of the villages of the Bosphorus; and, allowing eight persons to a family, which he considered a fair average, the result gave two hundred and forty thousand individuals, from the Euxine to the Sea of Marmora, on both sides of the Bosphorus. Of these about six thousand, he said, had conformed to the Roman Catholic form of worship, and acknowledged the supremacy of the see of Rome. The remainder adhere to the doctrine and discipline of the primitive Asiatic churches, and acknowledge no spiritual head but their own patriarch.

The Armenians were first converted to Christianity by Gregory of Nazianzum, a town in Cappadocia, who, in the reign of Theodosius, was elected patriarch of Constantinople. He, however, preferred a mission to heathen nations yet unconverted, and proceeded eastward to the mountains of Armenia, where he was the first to preach the Gospel. At his death he was canonized as the Patron Saint of the nation, under the name of Surp-loo-Savorich, or "The Holy Illumination;" and, still more to evince their respect and reverence for him, they commenced their era from the time of his death, which happened, according to their account, in the year 551 after Christ; so that their epochas, like the Turkish Hegeira, form dates distinct from other classes of the people. The return made me of the population was dated 1273, which corresponded with our 1824. After his death they adopted the opinions of Eutyches.

From the time of St. Gregory, Christianity made a rapid

progress in the East; and at the period of the Turkish invasion, the capital of the country contained three hundred churches; but the inroads of the Mahomedans, with the Koran in one hand and the exterminating sword in the other, have swept away those monuments of the Gospel, and, like Ephesus, and the churches in other parts of Asia, and from the same cause, they have now left little more than the name behind them. They are governed, however, by six patriarchs, who exercise jurisdiction over the communities scattered in different countries, of which that of Etchmeasin, in Persia, which St. Gregory founded, is the chief. It is held in such respect, that the Turks allow it a privilege not conferred on any other place of worship: that is, a ring of bells. The patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople are held in least repute, and hardly admitted as orthodox, as they were established by the Turks. The latter particularly is the mere creature of the Porte, constantly changed for the money paid on every new appointment, and the passive instrument to collect the haratch, or capitation-tax.

The priesthood are divided into two classes, secular and regular. The first are not only allowed to marry, but it is enjoined to them as a necessary qualification for holy orders; but if a priest's wife die, and he take another, he is degraded from his sacerdotal functions. The regular clergy are not allowed to take wives, and as all their dignitaries are appointed from them, no patriarch or bishop can be a married man.

Besides the usual orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, there is one peculiar to the Armenian church. They are called Vertabiets, or "Doctors." They are considered the most learned men of the nation, and are allowed a privilege not extended to bishops, that of preaching their sermons sitting. Their opinions are the standards of orthodoxy,

and they are the great opponents of the Roman missionaries, whom they represent as the real heretics.

Like all the Orientals, the Armenians attribute great merit to fasting. Among a people so comparatively moderate and simple in their diet, restraints cannot be felt in the same degree as by nations who are less temperate; but they are actually so severe, and so rigidly observed, that they evince an extraordinary degree of sincerity and self-denial. Their first great period of fasting corresponds with ours—the forty days preceding Easter Sunday. Many commence this fast by abstaining from all kinds of food for three or four days, and during its continuance eat nothing till three o'clock in the day, in imitation of Cornelius, who fasted till that hour. When they do eat they are interdicted from food allowed to other churches. They must not eat fish with blood, which is permitted to the Latin; nor with shells, which the Greek allows. They are restricted to bread and oil; and, because olive oil is too nourishing and too great a luxury, they use that which is expressed from a seed called sousan, of a taste and odour very offensive. I could not learn the grain from which it was extracted; but certainly if a human being wanted to mortify himself, he could not select a more disgusting diet. In this way they observe certain periods before Christmas, besides every Wednesday and Friday, so that the whole year is a succession of fasts.

As they are severe in their discipline, they are rigid in their doctrine. They admit of infant baptism, but insist on the necessity of total immersion of the body; and the part held by the priest they consider it necessary to wash, that no portion of the person may be deprived of the ablution. They also use a chrism, or anointing with oil, as a conclusion of the ceremony. The sacrament of the Eucharist, or, as they call it, Surpusium, is administered, on Sundays and

festivals in a manner peculiar to themselves. They use unleavened bread, which the priest steeps in the wine, then takes up with his fingers, and in this way gives both elements at once. You wished me to ascertain their real opinion of the elements after consecration, and I was inclined to think, from what I had heard, that they applied literally the expression of "this is my body." Among other persons I consulted a learned Armenian, who superintended a large school attached to the patriarchate. He spoke Italian, and entered freely upon the subject. He affirmed that the opinion of transubstantiation was introduced into the church about seventy years before, but till that period the doctrine on the subject was the same as that entertained by the reformed churches of the West. I asked him what those were, and he replied in the following words:—"No change does, or can, take place in the substance of the elements, which continue bread and wine as they were before; but they become after consecration animated with the spirit of Christ, in the same manner as a human body is animated with the spirit of life, and they confer on the worthy communicant a vivifying spirit of Christianity. This is the belief entertained by the great body of the orthodox Armenians, both clergy and laity of the present day, and those who hold any other are considered as apostatising to the church of Rome." Was this merely the opinion of a private individual, I would not think it deserved recording, and attach no more importance to it than to that of any single person, but it was the belief of a man set over a public seminary sanctioned by the patriarch, which he was allowed to teach to the rising youth under his care, and which was assented to by many persons present. He gave me a catechism printed at the patriarchal press, for the use and instruction of Armenian children. I had it translated, and the following is the answer to the

question, What is the Eucharist? "It is the body and blood of Jesus Christ—the spiritual food which at length gives to us eternal life." Many strict Armenians, however, attach such solemnity to the elements, that, as long as they suppose they exist unchanged in the stomach, they never spit, nor suffer any impure thing to come near them.

In their marriages they are very precise, enforcing not only the canon of consanguinity which our church enjoins, but many others which our church does not. A second marriage is allowed to the laity, but a third brings with it a scandal that no Armenian will venture to incur. They are anxious to maintain the fitness and propriety of things. Widows are enjoined to unite themselves with widowers only, and bachelors with spinsters. As the nation is really Asiatic, their notions of female propriety are all founded on Oriental feelings. Their women are kept in a state of severe seclusion. They are more rarely seen abroad than even Turkish women; and a match is generally made, not by the young parties from a previous attachment, for they seldom meet before marriage, but by some woman, who lives by making matches as a profession. When a girl is marriageable, one of these is sent for, who is charged to look out for a suitable husband, and manage all the preliminaries between the parties.

I was invited to the wedding of a young lady of one of the first Armenian families in Pera, whose match was made in this way, and who, I was assured, had never seen the man she was going to marry. I accompanied Lady Strangford to the ceremony. We went about eight o'clock in the evening, and found the house lighted up, and full of the lady's friends, among whom were the priest who was to perform the service, and his wife, both very plain and simple-looking persons. We passed through several ante-rooms full of

people, and were finally ushered into an inner and secluded chamber round which was a divan. On this sat cross-legged a number of Armenian ladies, two or three deep, and at the far corner was a motionless figure, like a bust in a niche, covered with a rich veil, glittering with gold, which hung down on all sides, so as entirely to conceal her figure beneath it. The bust was the bride. Across the room was a line of men, two or three deep, who stood gazing on her in silence. In compliment to our Frank customs, chairs were procured for us in the neighbourhood, on which we sat, and continued gazing on her in silence in the same way. To gratify us, the bride permitted her veil to be raised a little; it was instantly dropped again, but the glimpse we had showed us a slight figure and pale face, with a countenance exceedingly pensive and joyless. Her companions, however, were of a different character. They were all unveiled, and displayed faces radiant with beauty and cheerfulness. Some of them were exceedingly lovely, crowned with coronets of gold, and their long hair floated about them in extraordinary profusion down to the divan, like the veil of the bride. Though seemingly in high spirits, they spoke in whispers, and all their motions were tempered by gentleness and modesty.

After some refreshments and music, an open space was cleared before the bride, on which two embroidered mats were laid. On them were placed two enormous candlesticks, containing wax tapers of a proportionable size, and between them was a third, of still greater magnitude, without a stand, but bound upright to the other two by ribands. This mysterious emblem was called "the nuptial taper." It represented the maiden state of the girl, and was to burn till that state expired. It was then extinguished, and kept as a relic by the family. The snuff of the wick became the

perquisite of the priest, who attributed to it many conjugal virtues.

The priest was now called on to perform another important ceremony. A low table was placed near the nuptial taper, covered with a white cloth. The priest took from his bosom a small crucifix, and waving it several times in the air over the table, he uttered a benediction, and concluded with a psalm. We were curious to see what mystery was under this cloth. It was slowly lifted up, and there appeared a rich shawl, which was taken up and wrapped about the bride. This ceremony was deemed one of the most important parts of the marriage service, and is called "Blessing the nuptial shawl."

When these and other rites were over we expected to see the bridegroom, but he never appeared. He was down in Galata enjoying himself with his friends; nor was it till the end of three days that the bride was carried to him wrapped up in her shawl, like a child in swaddling clothes, when the husband saw her for the first time, and the final ceremony was performed.

Notwithstanding this very unpromising mode of courtship, marriage is generally a happy, or at least a tranquil state among the Armenians, and instances of conjugal infidelity are utterly unknown. As a religious people they consider it a most solemn engagement. They call it "one of the Seven Mysteries, which binds man and woman together in an indissoluble chain for their eternal salvation."* The disposition of the females, besides, as well by nature as education, is so gentle, docile, and domestic, that her inclinations never stray beyond her house, her husband, and her children.

I had many opportunities of witnessing this, but one was particularly interesting. Mr. Leeves had the New Testa-

ment translated into Armenian for the use of the laity, and it was published by an Armenian family, who had a printing establishment in one of the villages of the Bosphorus. When it was completed we were invited to the house of the worthy people to celebrate the event. A caique was sent for us, and we arrived about two o'clock. We were received by an aged man, with a long white beard, and strong marked features. Next in succession came his three sons, who were all men advanced in life; then his aged wife; and last, his three daughters-in-law, two of whom were young and very beautiful. Of these the mother alone was suffered to sit on a remote corner of the divan, while the others stood below the step at the bottom of the room, waiting submissively for orders. From this apartment we proceeded to another, where dinner was served. The men sat down to table, but the women stood round respectfully to attend them. There was one lady of our party who took her seat beside her husband, but the Armenian women stared at her with surprise, as if they considered her forwardness a great scandal. The dinner, which consisted of the usual Oriental fare, was concluded with a dish of caymac, or sweet hard cream, overlaid with jelly. The ladies then were at hand, each assiduously presenting us with a basin, ewer, and embroidered towel; and having helped us to wash, we retired to the reception-room. Here an Armenian bishop, among other company, was introduced. He was, we were informed, of that class who have no local sees, but live an ambulatory life, moving from place to place. Their duty is to pay domiciliary visits to the different families, like the elders appointed at the annual meetings of Quakers in England to reform or correct any laxity of religion or morality which they may hear or see. So far from these visiters being deemed obtrusive, they are, like those among the

Friends in England, always received with esteem and respect, and, indeed, in many other particulars they so resemble them, that the Armenians are called the Quakers of the East.

The younger parts of the family were now admitted. They consisted of eight or ten boys and girls of different ages. We wished to be familiar with these beautiful children, and two of the boys were permitted to approach us. Their manners were remarkably pleasing and gentle, without any awkward embarrassment. We gave them some little presents, which, after consulting the looks of their parents, they thankfully accepted, kissed our hands, pressed them to their foreheads, and retired to their places. The room formed a striking picture of the discipline of an Armenian family. The upper end was occupied exclusively by us strangers, as honoured guests. On our right hand sat the venerable elder and the bishop; on the left, his sons with other Armenian visiters; below the step stood the women and children, silent, regular, and motionless. As the Armenians retire very early to rest, we took our leave at sunset, greatly struck with the manner of these people, where three generations lived together in harmony and love, and with a reverence to years and condition that reminded us of the patriarchal ages.

Nor does the attachment of families cease with their lives, for long after death they endeavour to hold a visionary communication with their departed parents and children. The Turks reserve the cypress for themselves, and permit no other people to have it in their burying-grounds; but the Armenians, on the death of a relative, plant a pistacia, a tree equally yielding a resinous and aromatic gum, which fills the air, corrects the effluvia of the graves, and affords a still more abundant shade. They grow to a large size, and form very picturesque objects in a landscape. Their large

cemetery over the Bosphorus is covered with these trees, and from its elevated situation, the view it commands, and the view it presents, is perhaps the most interesting grove in the world. Here I have often seen whole Armenian families, for two or three generations together, sitting round the tombs of their departed friends, and conversing with the dead.

The Armenians hold that there is an intermediate state, which they call Gayank. It is not purgatory, for the dead suffer nothing; nor are their offences believed to be "burnt or purged away" by fire, for they are supposed to feel neither pain nor pleasure, though they retain a perfect consciousness of the past. From this passive state they are delivered by the alms and prayers of their surviving friends, and Easter Monday is the great day appointed for this purpose. Family groups assemble, accompanied by their priests, who proceed to their respective tombs. Solemn service for the departed is read round each, in which all the family join. They then sit down in groups or singly by favourite graves, and by the aid of a strong imagination, really seem to hold sweet converse with those they loved in life. This pious and pensive duty being performed to the dead, they retire to some pleasant spot in the neighbourhood, where provisions were brought, and dine together. These family visits to the mansions of the departed are a favourite enjoyment of this people. I have frequently joined their groups without being considered an intruder, and always returned pleased and even edified by this pious practice, though not according with my own opinions of orthodoxy.

Some of the mausoleums here are of pure marble, from the neighbouring island of Marmora, and well sculptured. Like all the Orientals, they make small excavations on the face of their tombstones, as cups to receive rain-water for the

birds who build in the trees of their cemetery. Like the Greeks, they engrave on the stone implements of trade to designate the business of the person interred; but the most extraordinary circumstance is, that they are fond of displaying how he came by his death. You therefore see on their tombs the effigies of men executed in various ways as criminals. I could not at first account for this singular propensity for exhibiting the infamous death of their friends, till they informed me that no Armenian is ever executed for a real crime; but when he has acquired such a fortune as to become an object of cupidity to the Turks, he is, on some pretext, put to death in this way, in order that his property may be confiscated. An executed man, therefore, with them only implied a man of wealth and consequence. One Armenian of my acquaintance pointed out to me the tomb of an individual of his family, on which he was represented hanging against the wall of his own house.

Another showed me his grandfather, who was seized and his head cut off, as he was entering his own gate. The representations here given are perfect fac-similes of the sculpture on their tombs.

He also translated for me, though with fear and trembling, their epitaphs, looking round to see if any Turk observed us. That under the latter was as follows:—

You see my place of burial in this verdant field;
I give my goods to the robbers,
My soul to the regions of death,
The world I leave to God;
And my blood I shed in the Holy Spirit.
You who may meet my tomb,
Say for me,
Lord, I have sinned.
1197.

The Armenians, though fond of religious books, have

little taste for, or acquaintance with, general literature. They purchase with great avidity all the Bibles furnished by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Their patriarch sanctioned and encouraged Mr. Leeves to publish a new edition of the New Testament, the completion of which we celebrated at the house of the worthy printer's, and I was requested to have a translation made into their language of some of the Homilies of our church, which I left in progress. They have a printing-office at the patriarchate, another at Korou Chesmé, and a third at the convent of St. Lazaro, at Venice. I obtained a list of all the books published at the patriarchal press, from its establishment to the present day. It conveys a better idea of their literary taste and progress than any other document could do. In the space of about one hundred and thirty years, fifty-two books only were printed, including several editions of each. Forty-seven were Commentaries on the Bible, Lives of Saints, Psalters, and a panegyric on Angels. The five not on sacred subjects were, an "Armenian Grammar," a "History of Etchmiazin," a "Treatise on Good Behaviour," a "Tract on Precious Stones," and a "Romance of the City of Brass*." They also publish an annual Almanac, in which, like the other branches of the Eastern church, they adhere to the old style. Their era commences, as I mentioned, five hundred and fifty-one years after ours, and their Christmas Day is marked for the 6th of January, adhering, as they say, to the period observed in the primitive church, till St. Chrysostom wrote a homily to prove that it ought to be celebrated on the 25th of December, which the Greeks then adopted.

The Armenian language has this singular peculiarity, that, different from all other languages of the East, it is read from

* See Appendix, No. X.

left to right. This is accounted for by supposing it to be a language of modern structure, and the mode of writing introduced among the people after their intercourse with Europeans. There is no such found on coins or other ancient monuments of the country. The characters, they say, were invented by St. Chrysostom, bishop of Chalcedon. They consist almost entirely of sharp angles and straight down strokes, so very like each other, that they resemble the writing you have seen in old English records, where the word *minimum* is expressed by fifteen unconnected parallel lines. Indeed, it is so difficult, that I have met intelligent Armenians who could read and write Turkish and Italian, but who could not translate for me their own books. It was one of the difficulties which you recollect Lord Byron undertook to conquer. He found, he said, that "his mind wanted something craggy to break upon," so when he was in Venice in 1816 he daily passed over to the monastery of St. Lazaro, "to hobble Armenian with the friars," and help them with an English and Armenian grammar, which one of them was publishing. Some time before, the French wished to establish an Armenian professorship, and twenty pupils presented themselves on Monday morning to qualify, "but before Thursday fifteen out of that number succumbed to the twenty-fifth letter of the alphabet." Since that time, however, not only a grammar, but a dictionary of English and Armenian have been published at this press, and are now in use at Constantinople.

The Armenians seem more disposed to amalgamate with the English, I think, than with any other Frank, or, indeed, Oriental people at Pera. A remarkably handsome and amiable young man of that nation called on me one day, and expressed a wish to become a member of our church, and to that end to learn the English language. He was

the son of a respectable merchant, who had a store at the Great Bazaar in Constantinople, at whose house I passed two or three nights, and was received with great kindness and hospitality.

He was an intelligent man, well acquainted with the doctrine of our church, and was perfectly satisfied with his son's choice of a religion. He generally passed Sunday with us, came to service, and in due time he received the Sacrament in our church. His name was Cachadore Oskanian, which he Anglicised into Christopher Hoskins. Among other tasks I set him to translate for me a work of great celebrity among his countrymen, called "The City of Brass, which is a Picture of the World." The following is the first page of his translation, as a specimen of the works of fiction which delight the people :—

"There was once in Bagdat a caliph, called Abdho Malak. One day he went forth into the street, collected together his chief men, and asked them about Solomon, and how he had power over the genii. His vizir came before him and said, 'Oh, great and mighty caliph! Know that there was once a man, the son of a merchant, and he spoke as follows: I was on a voyage to an island, and I lost my path in the mighty sea for forty days; but we reached land, and then we ascended a high mountain. We had no knowledge of the country, but at length we saw some dark-coloured men, of strange form, who saluted us, and brought us home to their abode, and with them we remained three days. After that they arose, and went down to the sea to fish, bringing us along with them. They cast out their nets, and took much fish, and with them they brought up a vase, sealed with the leaden signet of Solomon. When the vase was opened there came therefrom a black smoke, which ascended to the sky, and was terrible to behold: and while we looked

and trembled, a voice issued from the midst of the smoke, and cried, 'Solomon, Solomon, son of the prophet David! I have sinned, and will not again do as I have done, but am under your command'—for the demon knew that Solomon was still alive."

The caliph's curiosity is excited by the story; he becomes anxious to get possession of this vase, and sends Dalib, the son of Lepilla, in search of it, whose adventures through the world form the subject of the story, which contains many incidents resembling those in the "Arabian Nights," like that at the commencement.

A considerable advance has been made within these three years in the education of their children, now instructed on the Lancasterian system. In one school which I visited in the Armenian quarter at Constantinople were four hundred boys in a large edifice, which opened into a garden, and everything was conducted with great regularity. The books read were elementary works in their own language, which has thus become an object of regular study. Attached to it was another, where forty lads were taught Italian and other modern languages, a singular instance of that growing desire for knowledge which has now everywhere pervaded the Turkish empire. The mode of instruction, however, in these schools was yet Oriental. The pupils sat round the room on broad cushions, like mattresses, laid on the floor, and before each was a small box, about a foot long and half as high, which served them for a desk, over which they bent in an awkward and unhealthy attitude. I was informed, however, that they intended to provide European desks and forms. No school has yet been opened for females, and I understood that few females, even of the better classes, had yet learned to read or write.

The Armenians are not, like the Greeks, engaged in

European commerce, and covering the Archipelago with their ships. They have little or no trade with the West, possess no ships of their own, and seldom trust themselves to those of others. But they are extensively engaged in the commerce of the East, and the whole interior of Asia is intersected by their various journeys. They set out themselves with their merchandise, and accompany their caravans to Bagdat, Ispahan, and other great cities, and they engross almost the whole of this inland trade. Since the war of the Persians with the Turks and Russians, their usual routes have been greatly disturbed, their goods plundered by bands of robbers that infest the frontiers, and the timid merchants themselves deterred from prosecuting their usual journeys.

But their great source of revenue is derived from being almost exclusively sarafs, or bankers, to Turkish pashas. There are about eighty pashalics in the empire, and whenever a new pasha receives an appointment he must depend entirely on his Armenian for the means to avail himself of it. He is usually a man raised from the lowest rank in life, and possessing no personal property: his first care, therefore, is to send for an Armenian, who supplies him with his outfit of daggers, pistols, shawls, and all the indispensables of a pasha. He then becomes his security with the Porte for payment of the tribute of the pashalic, which is assigned to him to collect, and as this is generally taken in kind, the Armenian becomes a merchant as well as a banker, and disposes of it to a profitable advantage. On all purchases for the pasha he is allowed ten per cent. agency, and on all money advanced two per cent. per month; so that I have heard it said that one-third of the revenue of a pashalic settles in the Armenian's pocket. They sometimes suffer sudden and utter destruction of person and property. When an emergency for money presses the Porte, and it is sup-

posed that any saraf has become so rich as to make him worth the sacrifice, himself is hanged or decapitated, his property seized, and his family reduced to utter destitution; and all this suddenly falls on him like a bolt from heaven. Latterly, however, they have enjoyed a greater degree of security. A banker whom I visited on the Bosphorus was singled out as a victim, seized in his house, and brought over to Asia Minor, where he was detained. Meantime, his friends were active in negociating his enlargement, and having ascertained the lowest sum that would gratify cupidity, it was handed over, and the Armenian suffered to return to his house. He expected to find it ransacked, and all his papers seized and examined for proofs of his guilt, but he found everything undisturbed. The pretext of accusation is now understood to mean a demand for a certain sum, which is paid, and the affair is finished.

These people are the great artificers of Turkey, and the few factories established in the empire are generally conducted by them. The large factory for printed cottons at Scutari is theirs; and, though averse to war, they make no scruple of making warlike instruments. There is an extensive establishment called Tophenkhana, on the harbour near the Fanal, for the manufacture of muskets and bayonets, entirely managed by them, and the workmen, to the amount of five hundred, are almost all of that nation. It was in full activity when I visited it with the Armenian superintendent in 1832. In one department they bored muskets; in another, fabricated bayonets; in a third, ramrods, to which they were very particular in giving a high polish. Their mode of forming the hammer of the lock was very ingenious. A piece of red-hot hammered iron was put into a mould, on which a heavy weight was suspended. This was let to fall, and by the pressure the hammer is as completely formed

as if made of cast iron. Beside this was a dock-yard for building steam-boats, the whole machinery of which was cast and put together by the Armenians. It may be said, therefore, of this people, that of all the Rayas they are the most valuable to the Turkish government. They never embarrass it by revolt against its authority, and they improve its resources by their industry and ingenuity. It is a singular fact, that no Armenian ever showed the slightest sympathy or common feeling with their Christian brethren the Greeks. No Armenian was ever yet found to join their cause, or aid it in any way by money or influence, and they were the fabricators of the warlike implements the Turks used against them. So important are their services considered as subjects, that the crafty Russians having got possession of a portion of the country, by the treaty of Turkomansha, in 1828, stipulated with Persia that all the Armenians who wished to emigrate into it should be allowed to do so, and they induced forty thousand of those industrious people to leave the territories of the Shah and become Russian subjects.

The converts made by the church of Rome, though comparatively few in number, are the cause of great commotions and divisions among the people, and they become objects of occasional punishment. The converts call their fellow countrymen whom they left schismatics, though, as far as the term may be applied to separation from the original church, it is they themselves who come under the denomination. They have at various times been subject to great and unmerited persecution. Just before our arrival, in the year 1820, one of these took place.

A rumour had gone abroad that there was an intention of effecting an entire union between the patriarchal and papal churches, and the patriarch himself was suspected of

favouring the project. Nothing marks more strongly the utter repugnance of the people to such a measure than the feelings manifested on the occasion. Their passive and timid character was stimulated to what appeared an unnatural excitement. They lost all the respect and veneration which they were wont to show to the head of their church. They commenced with menaces, and then proceeded to actual violence against him and all they suspected as his partizans, till at length the Turkish government, which certainly never interferes in the local and personal disputes of its rayas, was compelled to reduce the disaffected to order with a strong arm. Many of the insurgents were arrested; some were thrust out of the city, and some of the most turbulent executed on the spot by summary process of Turkish justice. The authority of the patriarch was at length restored, after he had given assurance that he had never sanctioned such a measure, nor was it ever in agitation.

Just before my second return to Constantinople these disturbances were renewed, and the Porte took a decided part in them, by excluding one body of the litigants from the city. In the misunderstanding which then existed, and the state of hostility which ensued between the Turks and the other European powers, they suspected, or pretended to suspect, that the Roman Catholic Armenians were subject to foreign influence. The number of orthodox Armenians who had migrated just before into the provinces conquered by the Russians, gave a pretext for proceeding against the schismatic Catholics, who were supposed to be similarly affected to the Christians of the Latin church. The toleration granted to them was withdrawn, and the Divan issued a decree like the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, and several thousand of those persons who had establishments and resided at Pera were compelled to abandon

their homes. There had been settled at Angora, in Asia Minor, a considerable body of those people, and the residents of the capital were supposed to belong to this colony; they were therefore violating the ancient laws of the empire, which prohibited Rayas from changing their abode; and on this pretext they were expelled the city by a public firman. It was the depth of winter, and some of the unfortunate exiles, it was said, perished on the road by the severity of the weather. They were allowed but ten days to dispose of their property, and many, not being able in that short time to do so, were compelled to leave it behind them. This was particularly the case with houses, some of which were very splendid. The Porte, on such occasions as the present, generally gratified European ministers, by offering them some confiscated mansion as a summer residence. That of Prince Ypselantes had been accepted of by the French, and it is now the abode of the embassy; that of Prince Morousi had been proffered to the English embassy, but was declined at the time. One of the houses of these exiled Armenians at Therapia, however, was subsequently accepted of, and it is at present, since the burning of the palace at Pera, the only abode of the embassy. Though delightful as a summer abode, nothing could be more dreary than the first winter it was necessary to pass in it. The roofs of Oriental houses are very imperfectly covered, and I was obliged, even in the palace of Pera, on the solution of snow or the fall of heavy rain, to sit at the fire in my apartment with an umbrella over my head; but here there was no fireplace, and I have often paced the long saloon with a cloak about me, till Mr. Mandeville had chimneys built to the house, and one room was made comfortable both for dinner and divine service.

It is among the considerate acts of justice of the Sultan to have restored these persecuted exiles to their homes. At

the interference of the British and French ambassadors, he not only recalled them to the capital, but he took effectual precautions to prevent a similar persecution. He appointed for them a patriarch of their own, and so recognised them as a separate and independent community. On the 5th of January, 1801, a berat by Hatta Sherif was delivered to the new Roman Catholic Armenian patriarch, stating, that the people had been formerly, under the jurisdiction of the Greek and Armenian patriarchs, obliged to attend the places of worship of the Franks, and have all their marriages and other religious functions performed by strangers which was humiliating: the berat directs that they shall now be performed by their own priests, under the direction of their own patriarch, who shall be allowed to bear the ensigns of his office, and have his patriarchate establishment without let or hindrance from others; that he shall receive all legacies or donations for charity for the benefit of his church; and receive all gifts of the produce of vineyards, new wine, honey, butter, or other things, for himself*. In fact, it was that concession to the increasing wants of the people, in accordance with the principle of reform in other parts of Europe. It recognized a new society, and appointed a new patriarch, of which there are three now at Constantinople; but it still retained the usual feature of Turkish toleration, by stipulating that he should pay immediately fifty thousand, and annually three hundred and thirty-eight thousand aspers for his appointment. The Sultan, however, repaid a considerable portion of this to his flock. He included them among those who had suffered by the fire, and he made liberal donations to their schools on his return from his voyage.

Another Christian community here, differing in character

* See Appendix, No. XI.

from the rest, are the Bulgarians. They were originally a race of Tartars, who inhabited the shores of the Mœotis and Euxine Seas. Attracted by the reports of Roman wealth and luxury, they, like other barbarians, made inroads into the territories of the Eastern empire, and their ravages are represented to be more ferocious and sanguinary than those of any other tribe, and carried terror to the walls of Constantinople, till repulsed by Belisarius, in the reign of Justinian, and finally settled in the fertile country lying between the Danube and the Balcan mountains, formerly called Mœsia. They became Christians, and members of the Oriental church; but on one occasion, in the reign of Isaak, professed to recognize the supremacy of the Pope, who sent them an archbishop. They now, I believe, universally acknowledge the patriarch of Constantinople, and adhere to the rites of the Greek church. They have lost entirely their warlike character, and are distinguished for their pastoral habits and peaceable demeanour. They principally inhabit the suburbs and villages of Constantinople, where they are the gardeners and almost exclusively the vine-dressers; and every spring an immigration of them takes place to the capital from their native mountains, for the purpose. At this time parties are seen in the streets, dancing in groups to the music of their native pipes, which is then heard on every hill about the Bosphorus. They are particularly distinguished by their honest and good-humoured countenances. To their management, generally, is intrusted the cattle of the city, which they graze on the hills about, and supply from them milk to the inhabitants. They have the care of the Sultan's horses, and in the month of May every year lead them to the meadows at the head of the harbour, on which occasion fêtes are celebrated, and festivity of all kinds is enjoyed by Turkish ladies, who assemble on the banks of the Sweet Waters along with the horses.

The Bulgarians of the capital, however, corrupted perhaps by evil communication, are much deteriorated, and they lie under the imputation of many crimes. Murders are frequently committed during the season of vine-dressing, which are laid to their account, and they are charged with practices which have stigmatized their name all over Europe*. The number of these people who are constant or occasional residents in the city is uncertain, but may amount to about two or three thousand. The language they speak among themselves is a dialect of Sclavonic, though many of them can converse in Greek and Turkish. They are almost wholly illiterate, and a very few have learned to read Greek, which has been introduced into some schools established among them. Their own language is entirely oral, never having been reduced to grammatical rules. They are distinguished by their dress, which consists of jackets of brown cloth, caps of brown sheep's-skin, with the wool on, and sandals of raw hide drawn under the sole, and tied over the instep.

The individuals of all nations of Western Europe who inhabit the Turkish empire are called Franks. This was a name given by Greeks of the Lower Empire, and by the Arabians, to all the people living in remote regions on the shores of the Atlantic, and generally to all Christians of the Latin church, and the Turks, who adopted the appellations they found in use, still retain it. The Franks themselves think it still more dignified—they say it implies freemen, and distinguishes them from the Rayas, or slavish subjects of the Sultan. They consist of Germans, Swedes, Danes, Dutch, Russians, Swiss, French, Spaniards, Portuguese,

* It was a charge made against the Manichæans, a sect very numerous among the Bulgarians. Matthew Paris, alluding to it, says, "De quorum errore malo tacere quam loqui."—Mat. Paris, An. 1224.

Italians, and English, who form, with the crews of the ships in port, a body of about six thousand persons, who are not subject to Turkish law; but, in consequence of capitulations, are amenable only to the jurisdiction of the resident minister of the country to which they belong.

This privilege was sometimes greatly abused. A berat, or a protection, could be procured from the Porte, which extended the privilege to any Christian subject of Turkey who was any way employed by a foreign minister, and a traffic was made of it. Berats were sold to adventurers by every ambassador; and it was supposed that it produced 3000*l.* per annum at one time to the British resident. It is to the credit of Sir Robert Liston that he abolished this abuse, as far as related to England, in the year 1795; but I have been informed it is still carried on by other nations. Indeed, it is a thing so understood, that I was more than once applied to, to use my influence for people, and promised considerable sums if I succeeded. It is unnecessary to say I never tried.

The advantages of being considered a Frank are very important. Among others, a man is exempted from the haratch, or capitation-tax, and is not interdicted from leaving the Turkish territories. Wherever these privileges were not preserved, a Frank marrying a Raya woman ceased to be free, and his children and property became liable to the law of Turkish bondage. Various circumstances of this kind occurred to English subjects who had married Greeks. On the death of the husband, when the widow and children proposed to remove with their property to the land of their father, they were seized, and the executors thrown into prison, and threatened with torture to extort a confession of the property. Inquisitions were frequently held by the Turks, to ascertain such marriages; and in the year 1685, not less than fifty

merchants and others were found to be in this predicament. I married a British merchant to a Greek lady, and at the time I left Constantinople it was still a doubt whether his wife, children, and property were not liable to the laws of Turkish subjects.

In the collision of tongues which takes place among so heterogeneous a mass of people, some persons acquire an extraordinary facility in speaking various languages. Hearing them from an early age indiscriminately spoken, the ductile organs are impressed with all sounds alike, acquire the knowledge without effort, and comprehend and utter all with equal readiness. The first example of this kind that struck me on my arrival was that of a pretty, intelligent child, the daughter of one of our dragomans. I saw her in company with people of five different nations—she conversed with them all with equal readiness, and changed without effort from Greek to Armenian, from Armenian to Italian, from Italian to Turkish, and from Turkish to French, without the smallest embarrassment, as if they were all the same language, and that her native tongue. I found afterwards that this was a very common faculty, and from the exercise of it arose the lingua Franca, in which a person used the first word in any language which occurred to him, and so formed a barbarous admixture of all terms, and that Babel of tongues in which a stranger hears himself addressed by an individual on his arrival at a port in the Levant.

Associated with the Franks are the Peraotes, or natives of the peninsula of Pera, the descendants of the Genoese, who once exclusively occupied Galata. It is from this class that the dragomans, or interpreters to the different missions, are generally selected, for which their perfect knowledge of the Oriental languages always qualifies them. Among those attached to our mission was the family of Pisani, a branch of

the distinguished family of that name in Italy, and which had, at an early day, emigrated to Galata. To one of them I am particularly indebted. He had been many years interpreter to our embassy, but retired to make way for younger, though not more capable men. He had formed for me an attachment which he evinced in various acts of courtesy and kindness, and on all occasions, when I wished for information, he was ready and pleased to give it. A residence of almost seventy years, and an intimate and personal acquaintance with the events and circumstances of the country, rendered it highly valuable. He was also an instance of the facility of tongues acquired from the local circumstances of the people. He wrote and spoke English with perfect ease and propriety, and his autograph was formed with the precision of engraving, which accomplishments were the more remarkable, as of all languages English is the most rarely spoken, because considered the most difficult and hopeless of all others. He was also distinguished by a remarkable courtesy of manners, arising not less from a natural urbanity of disposition than from long intercourse with his Majesty's representatives. He was visited in his last illness by the British ambassador, when he was on the threshold of eternity; yet even then he did not forget his courtier-like manners. He saluted his Excellency by taking off his night-cap, and died while seeming to say—

"If where I'm going I can serve you, Sir."

The Frank burying-ground stands on a hill over the Bosphorus. Before, and just under it, is the great cemetery of the Turks, and beside it that of the Armenians,—the one embosomed in cypress, and the others in the resin-yielding terebinth. But that of the Franks is open and denuded, without a tree or shrub to mark it. Yet here the

dead of all the European nations repose together, and the tombstones mark English, French, Dutch, Germans, &c., scattered through it. The earliest on record is that of the Jesuits who fell victims to the plague. It is inscribed "*Hic jacent patres societatis Jesu pesti perempti,*" &c., beginning with Ludovicus Chizzolo, who died in 1585, and terminating with Petrus Cleiget, in 1756, by which it appears that those zealous men had exposed themselves here as elsewhere to peril, from the time of their establishment to that of their extinction, nearly two centuries. The next, I believe, is that of Ricardus King, "*Pastor Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*," who died in 1618. He was the first British chaplain, and the only one whose death is commemorated. The next is that of a Russian girl, who was carried into slavery by Tartars, "*Christiano insidiantes sanguine*," and redeemed by the Dutch ambassador. She died at the age of seventeen, in the year 1621.

But you remind me of a strange story of Hampden: that the body of the patriot had been conveyed from the field of battle, near Oxford, and deposited on the shores of the Bosphorus. I had heard such an absurd rumour at Pera, and almost my first search was for the tomb in the Frank cemetery. I soon found it, and discovered that it was not the monument of John, but of Richard Hampden, who was not killed in battle, in 1643, but who died a merchant at Pera, by too close application to business, in 1689*.

* The following is the inscription in full:—"Memoriæ sacrum viri desideratissimi Ricardi Hampden, ab antiqua Hampdenorum Buckinghamensium stirpe oriundi, qui cum minor natu esset more generis Angliæ familiis usitato Constantinopolin juvenis mercaturæ gratia profectus, ubi per xiv. annos ita in negotiis est versatus ut familiaribus charus, integra fama et facultatibus auctus, felix rerum successu gauderet in præsenti florens nec de futuro solicitus; dum vero nimis assiduus suique negligens rebus agendis invi-

Among the modern tombs there are some of the citizens of the French Republic, who commemorated the revolution, and surmounted their tombs with a cap of liberty even at that time in Constantinople. One of them, Henry Du Bois, a native of Lyons, died on the 16th Nivose, in the year 9, and concludes the inscription, not in the usual way, recommending his soul to God, but "*en adressant ses vœux au ciel pour la prospérité de la République Française.*"

But the most striking stone is one with a spirited sculpture, without a name. It represents among the cypress of a cemetery, four horses drawing a chariot, or bier, out of which is issuing the skeleton arm of Death holding a scythe. The horses seem taking fright at the apparition, and start off with terror, one looking behind, and the other straining forward, as if to fly from the fearful image. The sculpture, though rude, is very spirited. It is without any kind of inscription, and no one from whom I inquired could tell me its age or designation.

gilat, gracile corpus mentisque vigor impar lenta febris invadit, qua cum per lx dies temperamento omnibus medicamentis fortiore conflictatus esset, eo demum inconcusso mentis æquilibrio quo vitam egit mortem amplexus est, felici indole qua et inter mundi tumultus inturbatus vixit et inter fortunæ crescentes blanditias contentus occubuit. — Ob. ii die Feb., Anno Dom. MDCLXXX $^{VIII.}_{IX.}$ Ætatis suæ. xxxvi. Quem amisimus jam nosti viator; qualem si quæris obversa marmoris facies indicabit."

Frank Monumental Sculpture.

[To be inserted after p. 442, vol. ii.]

CHAPTER XVII

Jews—Numbers—Usages—Whence they came—How received by Turks—Appearance of Messiah—Disposition to become Christians—Proselytes exiled and restored—Arabs—Principal occupations—Rice Talisman—Turks—Ulemah—Notions of testimony—Mode of Worship—Fasting at Ramazan—Alms-giving—Charity to inferior Animals—Circumcision—Rite performed on young Prince—Pilgrimage to Mecca—Sets out from Scutari—Sacred Camel—Superstitions—Dancing and howling Dervishes—Libraries—of the Seraglio—of Rhaghib—Printing Press at Scutari—Books published—Flowers—Culinary Vegetables—Coins—Inaptitude of Turks for the Arts—Anecdote—State of Women—Character—Opinion of their Souls—Character of Men—Revolutions.

THE Jews form a very numerous class, and occupy large districts. They originally came, not from the east, but the west, and were the remnant of that people who were expelled from Spain, and brought the Spanish language with them, which they universally speak, with a small scattering of Hebrew words. It is calculated that there are one hundred and fifty thousand in Balata, Haskui, Galata, Ortakui, Fanal, Arnautkui, Kouskounguik, and Ginbalee districts in the city, and on the Bosphorus. For this population there are fifty synagogues, to each of which there is a priest and a singer, whose music is very striking. Their singers try to imitate the different instruments mentioned in the Psalms with their voices. When the passage expresses the sound of a trumpet, they raise their hand formed into a tube to their mouths, and emit an interrupted sound, which is not a bad imitation, and the congregation is sometimes so excited that they all join. Tempests and the terrific objects of nature are also expressed; and I have heard "The

Lord thundered out of heaven hailstones and fire," and other sublime passages of Scripture, delivered with great effect. Their chaunting the service in this way certainly forms a strong and favourable contrast to the tedious and dismal monotony of the Greek church.

They are governed by a chief-priest, or rabbi, who appoints ten or twelve others, as it may be, for Constantinople, and they administer the laws, and are called "the Wise Men of Binding and Loosing." From them there is an appeal to three superiors, who decide in difficult cases, and are called "The Wise Men of the House of Judgment." Besides which every village has its rabbi governor. By these justice is executed, and in all cases they are permitted to use their own jurisprudence, unless when, by choice, the parties appeal to the Turkish cadi.

The Jews, here as elsewhere, never enlist as soldiers or engage as farmers. They accompany the armies and fleets as tailors and other mechanics, and some have gardens, in which they raise culinary vegetables for the markets, and you occasionally meet a Jew working in another man's ground; but for war and agriculture they have a decided inaptitude. Their great pursuit is commerce, and this extends to merchandize of all kinds, from the most extensive traffic to the meanest and humblest trade. They are sarafs, or bankers, to the upper class of Turks; they are brokers and agents to European merchants, and they are almost exclusively the hucksters and pedlars of broken furniture and cast-off clothes. Some of the former class that I have met in Galata were large and comely men, with an air of decision and independence superior to other Rayas: some of the latter were the most creeping and despised objects I ever saw in human form. They generally attend at the iskelessi,

ASIATIC

or slip, where caiques land, and proffer their services to a stranger for any work in which they can be useful to him.

They are called by the Turks, Moosafir, or Visiters, because they were strangers, who claimed their hospitality, and they originally received them as their guests. The similarity also of their religious profession and practices give them a certain identity with the Turks; and I think, on the whole, they are treated with more consideration than any sect of Oriental Christians. Their business gives them constant access to Turkish houses, and their dexterity in its details assures them an ascendency over the dull stupidity of their employers. I am not aware that the Jews, as a sect, have ever been persecuted in Turkey as they have been in Christian countries. It is true that the lower orders are despised, as they are elsewhere, for their dirt, meanness, and poverty; but the better classes are held in more consideration by the Turks than they are in any European Christian state.

Various impostors rise up among them and impose on their superstitious credulity. A most remarkable one appeared in the year 1666. A Jew, called Sabbathi Levi, proclaimed himself King of the Jews, and professed to perform miracles, to establish his divine mission. He foretold the death of several persons, which came to pass; he ordered a large fire to be lighted in the market-place, which he passed through without singeing his garments; and having proved by these signs and wonders that he acted in the power of God, and not his own, he gained a wonderful ascendency over both Jews and Turks. He was joined by four prophets from Gaza, and went forth with a retinue like a sovereign. Some incredulous Turks, however, seized and brought him before the cadi, who sent him to the pasha, as Pilate sent Jesus to Herod. He ordered a massacre

of the Jews next day, to put a stop to the superstition; but Elias appeared to him in a dream, warning him, like Pilate's wife, to have nothing to do with the just man or his followers—so he too became a convert by this supernatural warning.

The king now proceeded to Constantinople, where he predicted various things which came to pass. Among others, a portentous shower of hail, which soon after fell as large as eggs, committing great destruction, and killing many people, so that the enormous hail which astonished us was not unprecedented, no more than the Turkish prophecy which predicted its fall. His fame now became so established by preternatural events, that the Sultan, who was disposed to take severe measures against him, was convinced of his divine mission. He had his private warnings by dreams and visions; and instead of ordering him to be put to death, he sent an ambassador to his brother-king, invited him to a conference, and set him at his right hand. The whole East was now filled with rumours of changes. The tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh were expected to arrive at Gaza, as one of the prophets from that place had foretold, and the Sultan was reported to have said he could restore the Jews to their city, and re-establish their nation in Palestine. So firmly was this believed, that the rich Jews of Constantinople left off business, sold their possessions, and prepared to proceed to Palestine to rebuild the Temple. In the midst of these preparations the Messiah died, and the delusion subsided. These things are not the fabrications of fiction, nor the exaggerations of credulity—they actually happened. Mons. Chaumont, the French ambassador to the Porte, was in Constantinople at the time, and wrote a circumstantial account of the affair to his government, and it was communicated by various private letters from residents in the East to their friends in Europe.

Notwithstanding this inveterate conviction of the coming of a future Messiah which still subsists, a strong disposition has been lately shown among them to embrace the doctrines of Christianity. Shortly after my first arrival I was visited by a person who had some mysterious communication to make to me. He informed me, with great caution, that a Jew wished to be baptized, but was apprehensive of persecution even to death by his own people if it was known. He was introduced to me, and after several interviews, in which, through the medium of an interpreter, I explained to him the nature of the ceremony, we fixed upon the festival of the Conversion of St. Paul as the day for performing it. The English and Prussian ambassadors attended as part of the congregation at our chapel to witness it; and at the particular request of the person, the gates of the palace "were shut, for fear of the Jews." He was deeply affected by the ceremony, and when the water touched his forehead he seemed almost convulsed with agitation. He was a respectable merchant, but was afraid to continue at Constantinople, and the next day set off for Poland.

After this a considerable commotion was excited among them. The Scriptures were translated into their barbarous dialect and published by my friend Mr. Leeves. Many individuals embraced Christianity, and the proselytes joined the various sects of Christians as their connexions and convictions led them. Two were baptized in the Protestant faith, fourteen in the Armenian, four in the Roman Catholic, and two in the Greek. An immediate and implacable persecution was commenced against them by their own people. They were, under various pretexts, incarcerated in different Turkish prisons; they were threatened with death, and treated with a cruelty amounting almost to torture. They remained unshaken in their convictions, and

the Jews, fearing the effects of their example, procured a firman, by which they were exiled to Cæsarea, in Asia Minor. The firman stated that the government never interfered with the religious opinions of others, and cared nothing for their conversion; but that they were represented as bad subjects, and so expelled from the city. On my return to Constantinople, some Armenians visited me one night, and requested me to accompany them. I did so, and was admitted, with some caution, into a house at Pera. Here I found an assembly who were engaged in considering how these poor exiles might be restored to their abodes and employments, as they were in the lowest state of poverty and distress in their exile. I was requested to state their case to the English ambassador, in the hope that he would intercede for them; but such was the alarm among the people assembled, that they were all afraid themselves personally to be known to interfere. I readily undertook the commission, and made a representation to our minister on the subject. Some time after I had the pleasure to find they were restored by the Sultan's firman as publicly as they had been banished, and their restoration was another of those considerate acts of mercy by which he has endeavoured to atone for his former severity. Some of them are engaged with the good Armenians in various employments, and some have actually qualified themselves to be missionaries to their countrymen. Giovanni Evangelista, as he wishes to be called, is occupied with the Rev. Mr. Lewis in Smyrna, and another proceeded to England, to prepare himself for the same purpose.

Many Jews have also conformed to Mahomedanism by a transition much less violent, as some of their opinions and practices are similar. When this is the case the proselytes always adhere in private to their own usages. Circumcision

is not deferred to adolescency, as with the Turks, but it is privately performed, according to the Mosaic direction, on the eighth day. They also admit rabbins, who celebrate for the family in secret the rites of their own religion. The Turks are well aware of their practices, and call such insincere converts Donatheri or apostates, and hold them in lower estimation than the rest of their nation. They are divided into three sects, who entertain a strong aversion to each other, and never associate.

You say that the Jews of Constantinople who dragged the body of the patriarch were compelled to do so contrary to their inclination. I wished much to agree with you, and therefore made diligent inquiry; but I am sorry to assure you, on the authority of one of themselves, that it was a voluntary act on their part, and they were glad in this way to evince that undying hostility which the Oriental Jews still feel for Christians, and which Christians have returned with such atrocious retaliation. You also inquire from me some further particulars of that extraordinary book published by the Greeks, and charging them with using Christians' blood: I send you some further extracts from it to satisfy your curiosity*, premising to you, that the same authority which admitted their willingness to insult the body of the patriarch has denied the truth of many statements in this book. You will observe it is written by a Jewish proselyte, and it is the natural tendency of all such to condemn the sect they have abandoned as an excuse for their apostacy. The Jews that I knew at Constantinople were respectable men, generally brokers to merchants, who considered them as honourable and trustworthy as those of any other persuasion. One family were the conductors of a printing press in the British palace for the occasions of the

* See Appendix, No. XII.

embassy. They were intelligent and worthy men. They assisted in translating the Scriptures into their own language, and they undertook to print for me an abridgment of the New Testament, which they began, but which I never finished. They have a printing press of their own for the publication of Judeo-Spanish books, which are generally translations of religious books from the Hebrew. Their genuine Hebrew books are printed at Salonichi and other places, where large colonies are established.

The Arabs form a small portion of the inhabitants of the capital. They are generally distinguished by their sallow visages, dark hair, and spare persons. I saw one day a group of such figures, some of them wrapped in scarlet robes, waiting to present a petition to the Sultan coming from the mosque on Friday. They were Arabian deputies resident at the capital, appointed by their people of the Desert to complain of some injury inflicted on their tribe. The petition was graciously received, and the grievance, as I heard, immediately redressed. A large community of them are called Leblebbigees, from their selling about the streets a kind of pea called Leblebbi. They have a particular talent for parching it, and the sale is almost exclusively confined to them. It is one of the commonest cries heard through the streets of Constantinople and Pera, and the venders are so numerous, that I am told they form an esnaf, or corporation.

The Arabs also distinguish themselves by their dexterity in managing other grain. A person in Frank dress called on me one day with a great curiosity. He drew forth a grain of rice from a small case in which it was kept. I could discover nothing remarkable on it, till he produced a magnifier of high powers, and placed the grain in a certain position. I then perceived some beautiful Arabic characters perfectly formed. It was a verse from the Koran; the

translation of it into English, which I regret I have lost, extended to twenty words. He informed me he was an Aleppine; that the grain of rice was a family possession, and had talismanic virtues, and as he had heard the English Elchi Bey was a collector of such curiosities, he brought it for his inspection. He demanded, however, for his talisman of rice one hundred thousand piastres, and his Excellency declined the purchase. He came afterwards to consult me on the speculation of going to England to exhibit it, as he was informed that so great was the avidity of the people for things of the kind, that he would soon realise a fortune. I could hardly promise him such success from his grain of rice, and did not much encourage him. He left me, however, with a determination to try his fortune. I thought it a curiosity not more for the perfect writing on so minute an object, than for the process which preserved a perishable substance from decay. He told me his ancestor who had formed the talisman was several years occupied in preparing it.

I have already said so much of the Turks, and their state and condition have been so copiously and so frequently detailed by others, that little is left me to say here; I will add a few gleanings.

Nothing, perhaps, marks the extraordinary nature of the Turkish government more than that its head is actually called Hun-Kair, or the Man-killer, and the exercise of his prerogative in destroying his subjects is his distinguishing appellative; and such is the profound veneration for the life of him who thus takes the life of others, that in all the bloody changes that have taken place, and in the deluges of human blood that have been shed, there is no instance of a private person raised to the Ottoman throne, or the blood-stained line of Turkish dynasty broken. It is from this feeling of veneration that the Sultan has absolute power in

certain cases over the property as well as the lives of his subjects, and the possessions of all who die without heirs, or in public employments, fall of right to the Sultan. He is the source of all honours and the concentration of all dignity. No Turk can be heir to an hereditary distinction but himself, and while a purely republican equality exists among the people, the sovereign is the whole body of an aristocracy in his own person.

The civil and ecclesiastical authority are combined, and the ulemah are both priests and judges. Ulemah literally means "learned men," and the term is applied by way of eminence to that body who cultivate the most important sciences recognized among the Turks. They are educated in medresis, or seminaries, attached to mosques. From these seminaries are taken the Naibs, or substitutes for judges; the Cadis, or judges of small towns; the Molhas, or judges of large ones; the Istambool Effendi, or judge of Constantinople; the Cadi Asker, or judge of Roumelia and Anadolia; the Mufti, Sheik Islam, or the orthodox prelate, and the Fetva Sahibi, or giver of judgment.

In decisions in their courts the testimony of a Mussulman, however infamous or degraded, is preferred to that of a Christian, however respectable. Unlike our courts, the successful suitor has the costs to pay, a circumstance which induces Turks to sue at law Armenians, who are liable to litigious persecutions, as the Quakers were formerly in England, because they are a passive and scrupulous people. Witnesses, when by rare chance they are convicted of false testimony, are subject to no such penalties as perjurers in England: they are merely dismissed with a reprimand. From this impunity they abound. Everything depends on their evidence, and it is sometimes the most gross and palpable. A merchant of Pera informed me he had freighted

a ship with Russian corn, the exportation of which was, at the time, prohibited. He bribed, however, the inspecting officer, and told him his cargo was tallow. The officer looked down into the hatchway, and saw the corn in bulk filling the hold below. "What do I see?" said the officer. "Tallow," said the merchant. "Oh, is that tallow?" said the man—so he reported the corn was tallow accordingly. I mentioned to you how the Christian religion was preserved by the testimony of janissaries, who deposed to things that happened before they were born, which, however, did not invalidate their evidence.

The Sultan, as successor of the Prophet, is head of his church, and exercises supreme dominion over it, and hence magistrates, whose power is delegated by him, have authority over the inferior priesthood, as Christian bishops over their diocesan clergy; and as the secular and temporal power are united in the same body, these magistrates may officiate as priests. There are four orders attached to each mosque —the Imaun, who recites the prayers; the Sheik, who preaches; the Kiatib, or reader of the Koran; and the Muezzim, who performs the duty of a bell, and calls the people to prayers from the minaret. The office of a priest is not confined to ecclesiastical duties, but supposed to be compatible with other pursuits. Friday is the Turkish Sabbath, and a priest shuts up his shop and proceeds to the mosque. After the service, he sometimes returns, opens his shop, and is seen cross-legged on his board at his ordinary business. Generally, however, business is suspended, and houses closed the whole of Friday.

I have often stood by mosques, and observed the conduct of those who entered, as far as I was permitted. They first lay aside all gorgeous dress, so unsuited to the humility they should feel, and they all approach in decent, but plain attire,

There is generally a tank, or reservoir, of water to perform the wodû, a necessary preliminary to prayer, where they wash, to purify themselves from external defilement. Mahomet says, that the practice of religion is founded in cleanliness, and that it is the key of prayer. They then proceed with a serious, and indeed solemn air to the porch, seldom interchanging a word, but apparently meditating on what they are about to do. At the door they drop their slippers and enter barefoot, conformably to God's direction to Moses, " put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou treadest is holy ground." When entered, they turn to a niche, called al Mehrâb, which points out the direction of Mecca; and then kneeling, they prostrate themselves with the profoundest devotion, and seem wholly absorbed in the communication they are then holding with God. There is no wandering of the eye, no turning of the head, as we see in our places of worship, to indicate any abstraction of thought; but there is something sublime in that profound and intense adoration in which I have sometimes seen them fixed. There are in various places beside the highways, square enclosures of stone, called Namasgiak, with the ground inside as high as the top of the walls; annexed to them are fountains for ablution, and here daily prayers are offered up by passengers. When there are none such, the kebla, or direction of Mecca, is pointed out by a table, which every Mussulman carries about him. A small carpet is spread, and the person, turning his face to the Holy City, prostrates himself, with his forehead touching the ground, occasionally rising on his knees, and again laying his face to the ground during his prayer. When done he folds up his carpet, and proceeds on his way. I never walked out at the hour of prayer that I did not see men so engaged.

The Turks recognise the fundamental truths and eminent persons of our Scriptures. They acknowledge two Prophets, Moses and Christ; but the Paraclete, or Comforter, promised by the latter, they suppose to be Mahomet. Notwithstanding, therefore, the coincidences between them and the Jews in many particulars, they do not hold the Jewish proselytes to be sincere converts, unless, in acknowledging a faith in Mahomet, they believe in Jesus also.

Next to prayer, fasting is a most important duty of Islamism. Their great fast is in the month of Ramazan, for it was then that Mahomet published the Koran which he had received from heaven, and hence it is always commemorated by a solemn fast, which lasts during the whole of its continuance; and lest any part of it should be profaned, certain persons are set to watch the moment when it is to commence and terminate. The most important station for the purpose is the summit of the principal mosque at Brusa; but as the Turks have not yet adopted telegraphic communications, others are placed in elevated situations at Constantinople and different towns. The Turkish months are lunar, and the commencement is ascertained by the appearance of the new moon. When, therefore, the moon Chaban disappears, the watchmen take their stand, and anxiously look out for a glimpse of the moon Ramazan, and the first who catches it runs off to the next mosque to announce it. It is then published through the city, and the period of abstinence commences. The sunset of the day is proclaimed by an explosion of cannon, at the sound of which a general illumination bursts from the minarets of the mosques and the rigging of the shipping, so that the whole surface of land and sea, as far as the eye can reach, is one glow of artificial light.

The restraint which a Turk imposes on himself is not

like that of a Christian on such occasions, interdicting a particular kind of food, and indulging in others. It is a total abstinence from all refreshment of the body, even that of water, and this is sometimes a privation so severe that nature almost sinks under it. The Koran directs that the fast shall commence in the morning, as soon as "a black thread can be distinguished from a white" at day-dawn, and the fast is considered broken if they let any thing enter their body, smell to perfumes, inhale tobacco smoke, swallow their spittle, or even open their mouths to speak, and so inhale the air. The Turkish year consists of three hundred and fifty-four days, divided into twelve lunar months, having alternately twenty-nine and thirty days. Now, as this year is eleven days shorter than the solar, and their months have no connexion with the seasons, they pass through them all in succession, and the same month sometimes falls in winter and sometimes in summer. When the Ramazan occurs in the latter it is exceedingly distressing. The fast is from sunrise to sunset, and hummals are seen reeking under heavy burdens beneath a burning sun, and abstaining even from a drop of water to moisten their parched lips.

We took a boat early one morning in June in the Ramazan, and proceeded to the Black Sea. It was a sultry day, without a breath of air, and our caiquegees seemed to suffer severely. We had refreshments in the boat, and of course offered them some, but they gravely pushed towards us the palm of their uplifted hand, and declined in silence. The taciturnity of a Turk is confirmed at this time, and they thought that even the indulgence of words would break their rigorous abstinence. We returned in the evening, and in passing the castles the gun announced the hour of sunset. At this sound the boatmen let go their oars, and, crossing their hands on their breast, continued a moment in silent

prayer. Then the reis, taking up a flap, or soft loaf of bread, divided and distributed it among the rest. He next took a pitcher of water, drank freely, and sent it round; having done this they resumed their oars. We had set out before five in the morning, and it was now eight in the evening; and these patient and enduring men had continued in our company for nearly eighteen hours, and never were tempted to indulge in the refreshment they brought with them, though suffering so severely from the privation. While they were labouring against the current, we lay at our ease at the bottom of the caique, protected by the shade of green umbrellas from the sun, and refreshing ourselves every moment with fruit and sherbet, yet we hardly found it tolerable. There is something exceedingly interesting and even affecting in the silent and quiet endurance of a Turk, and an active benevolence is often mixed up with his passive piety. He thinks he may redeem a fast of three days by feeding during the same period six poor people.

The next qualification required of a religious Turk is alms-giving, according to the Mahomedan precept, that "prayers conduct half-way to heaven—fasting brings to the gate, but alms alone procure entrance." The Koran says, that what a man covetously reserves for himself shall be bound like a cord, or twisted like a serpent, round his neck at the day of the resurrection. The persons to whom they think themselves bound by their religion to give alms are, the needy, the reconciled to Mahomedanism, the redeemers of captives, the insolvent debtor, and the traveller; on all these they exercise their charity. A Turkish beggar is seldom met with in the streets, but there are crowds of needy round the mosques, to whom I have seen the congregation, as they enter or come out after service, give liberal alms.

Connected with this feeling is their tenderness to inferior

animals, which they not only do not injure, but for whose wants they think themselves bound to provide. The Koran says, "there is no beast on earth nor fowl on the wing but the same is a people like unto you, and to the Lord they shall return and stand in judgment." The Turks therefore think the irrational as well as the rational creation objects of their good will and charity, which are extended not only to dogs, but to every animal that is not used for food. The roofs of all the buildings that surround the harbour are constantly covered over with cormorants and gulls, which fly down among the boats, and frequently light on the gunwales, where they sit screaming for food till some bread is thrown to them. I found them sometimes so persevering that they could hardly be driven away, and the Turkish boatmen would not hurt them. The protection afforded to storks is not confined to Turks, but perhaps it is more conspicuous among them than other nations. A Turk builds a frame-work round his chimney, and invites these birds to occupy the edifice he has prepared for them; and to the various stories told of their kindly qualities they add one which I never heard elsewhere. There is a remarkable coincidence between the migration of the stork and of small birds called becca ficas. They have been frequently seen and shot in great numbers near Smyrna and other places in the evening; a flight of storks has been observed to pass over, and the next morning not one becca fica is to be found. The Turks believe this to be another trait of benevolence in the storks, who take up in passing as many of those small birds as they can carry on their backs, and so enable them to migrate to a distance to which their own feeble wing would never carry them. There is certainly a strong attachment subsisting between them, for I have seen storks' nests in Asia Minor in which whole tribes

of small birds had formed colonies. The vast flocks of halcyons, or, as the Turks call them, yengooan, that fly up and down the stream, are never molested. De Tott, in his lively manner, tells a story of the danger he incurred from a bostangee guardian of the Bosphorus, for daring to shoot one of them. Even the shoals of porpoises that are so numerous as to make the water appear as a living surface enjoy perfect impunity. An abatement, however, of this excessive tenderness for the inferior creation was one among the first symptoms of Turkish reforms. I have told you of the persecution of the dogs. I saw frequently soldiers in the Turkish ships of war exercising their tophecs on the halcyons; and a crusade was talked of against the porpoises, to procure their oil. The man who would dare such things on my first arrival would do so at the hazard of his life.

The rite of soonat, or circumcision, is not practised on the eighth day, as among the Jews, but at an adult age, as among the Ishmaelites, who deferred it till the time at which their father underwent it. A Turk performs the operation on his son between six and sixteen, and it is therefore called by some a marriage, because the youth is then espoused to the law of Mahomet, and is supposed to be of a competent age to begin his religious duties. The birthday of Mahomet is generally selected for the purpose. At this time I have frequently met groups of boys dressed in their gayest attire, and accompanied by their parents, who paraded them through the streets with proud ostentation. It is one of the most indispensable rites of the Mahomedan church, and practised as the initiation of converts.

When the Sultans circumcise their children it is a splendid ceremony. The young prince is brought to a magnificent tent erected for the purpose. He is then placed on the knee

of the Kisler Aga, his arms are held by the Grand Vizir and Caimacan while the rite is performed. This ceremony was always attended by a multitude of other boys, who were reserved by their parents for this occasion and it sometimes lasted fifteen days. A splendid display of this kind was made by Mahomet IV. at Adrianople, in 1675, but it fell from that time rather into neglect as a public spectacle, till the present Sultan revived it.

On the 13th Rebielachir, that is 19th of September, 1831, the rite was performed on the young prince, Abdoul Metzid Effendi, and the great meadow lying between Scutari and Cadi Kui, called Haider Pasha, was selected for the purpose. Application had been made by some of the foreign missions to be admitted to the ceremony; they were informed it was strictly private, but they and their suite might attend along with the public as individuals. I took a caique with some friends, and proceeded across the Bosphorus. From a very early hour in the morning the water was covered with boats, and when we arrived at the other side, the plain was covered with people, particularly parents, who brought their children to have the rite performed. Plays and games of all kinds were acted in the meadows, and military parades were held by several regiments encamped on the high grounds about. The Sultan and his son arrived in a splendid caique. When they landed a procession was formed of the principal officers, which proceeded to a large and gorgeous tent pitched for the occasion, which we were not permitted to enter. In the centre was a throne; on one side were ranged the Caimacan and the principal officers of the empire; on the other, the mufti, with the chief of the Ulemah. The Sultan advanced without pomp or state through the lane of these officers, and sat on the throne, when the young prince humbly followed, kissed his father's feet,

and sat down on a cushion next the Mufti. He then commenced his religious education by reading aloud passages from the Koran and other Mahomedan books. When he appeared thus qualified for the rite, it was performed, and the whole concluded with a solemn prayer. The fete lasted four or five days, and every night the sky was in a blaze with fire-works. It was circulated among the surmises of Pera, that the Sultan was induced to make this extraordinary display of the principal rite of Islamism in consequence of the rumours of his tendency to Christianity.

The last ceremony which a Turk considers an incumbent religious duty is a journey to Mecca. This is enjoined by the Koran to every man whose means enable him, and even women are not exempt. They assemble from all parts at certain places near Mecca, put on there the Ihrâm, or sacred dress, and while clad in it they are enjoined not to deprive any animal of life, even the insects that infest their own bodies. When the pilgrimage is performed the person is called a Hadgee, and looked up to with great respect.

In the spring of the year the pilgrims from Constantinople and the vicinity assemble on the large plain of Scutari; and, as it was a sight worth contemplating, I crossed the Bosphorus with some friends to see it. The whole of this extensive space seemed to be covered with a vast multitude, as if all the inhabitants of the city were about to proceed on their pilgrimage. After some time the wave of the multitude subsided, and they assumed a regular order. First appeared the Emir Hadgee or leader of the pilgrims, carried in a litter, or tartaravan, between stately mules, and accompanied by several others. Then the crowd arranged themselves according to their several companies, or corporations, each preceded by a banner, with some device to mark it, and attended by a train of camels bearing cradles,

or litters, to accommodate and carry on the sick who might faint by the way. They were accompanied by the Imaun, or officiating minister, to perform the functions of his office to all that needed, and crowds of antics, or jesters, who threw themselves into ridiculous postures to amuse them. Some were of another cast. They seemed like maniacs—they cried, and howled, and foamed at the mouth, and were supposed to be under the influence of a demon, to be expelled only by this pilgrimage. Then followed troops of armed horsemen, and, finally, droves of camels loaded with provisions and furniture, and among them torches to enlighten their march when they proceeded in the night.

But the most remarkable object was the camel that bore the Mahmel, or covering of the Prophet's tomb. This seems to be essential to all tombs of his descendants, as those of the Sultans in their mausoleums at Constantinople are covered with them. This for Mecca consisted of bales of velvet, embossed with characters in gold, and containing sundry sentences from the Koran. The camel which bore it was white, and was considered so sacred as never to be employed for any other purpose, but exempt from all labour. He was adorned with plumes of red feathers, had bells suspended from him, and was caparisoned with rich housings. The people pressed eagerly to touch the holy animal, and those who could not come near unbound their turbans, and cast one end of it towards him, if haply any part of their dress might be sanctified by such contact. Even the air through which he passed had valuable qualities communicated to it. The multitude seemed to grasp it by handfuls and thrust it into their bosoms, or place it on their bare heads under their turbans. I found it was the general belief that this was the actual camel that bore Mahomet in his hegeira, or flight, and so it was not without reason they

attributed extraordinary properties to the animal on whom Allah had conferred such a miraculous longevity. We returned to Pera with a crowd of spectators like ourselves, meditating on this display of folly and fanaticism, which the light of common sense had extinguished in Europe for centuries, but which still lingers in all its primitive force, with many similar ones, among this slowly improving people.

Besides the apprehension of the effects of an Evil Eye, which the Turks entertain in common with all the other people at Constantinople of every persuasion, and to avert which you see everywhere displayed such precautions, there are others no less obvious. The practice of suspending votive tablets, so much used by the polished Greeks and Romans, and still found among the most barbarous people in the centre of Africa, is very common among the Turks. Their holy places, particularly the tombs and shrines of dervishes, are covered over with rags and remnants of cloth, which once composed part of the dress of the persons who supposed themselves healed or aided by the saint to whom the shrine belonged. This custom the Turks seem to have borrowed from the Greeks, whose aiasmata, or holy wells, are also covered with votive rags. Every morning becomes the announcement of a new miracle. One day the Turks declare that placing stones in water in the mosque of Santa Sophia produced a seasonable rain. Another, the Christians affirm that a bald man went into a barber's shop, and declared that he would believe some miracle if his hair grew, when straightway, to the astonishment of the barber and conviction of the man, his head was suddenly covered with an unnatural crop of shaggy locks, hanging down like a lion's mane. But, in fact, this place is the hotbed of superstition. It would make one smile, if it did not excite more serious reflections, to hear the manner in which every man

extols the miracles of his own saints, tombs, or relics, and laughs at the pretensions of others; I have heard individuals of all professions, Turks, Jews, Armenians, Greeks, and Franks do so, and, in the very spirit of the Roman Satirist*,

> Condemn their neighbour's wonder-working block
> And laud their own, though made of the same stock.

It appears as if the Sultan sometimes turned these superstitions to advantage, by exciting and keeping alive prejudices against his enemies. In this way the memory of the devoted janissaries is still held up to public execration. It was gravely stated in the government newspaper, a few months after its establishment, that a town in Roumelia was haunted by their phantoms; that their bodies had become vampires, which every night escaped from their graves, and drank the blood of the inhabitants. The graves, therefore, of all that had been buried there were opened, and their remains pinned to the ground, by having stakes driven through them. Here, then, is another of those barbarous superstitions long since driven from Europe, but which a Turk still clings to.

Among the fanatics, the dervishes still hold a great ascendency over the minds of the people. Their colleges are called Teké, and there are several in the capital distinguished by a trait of Turkish benevolence. The distribution of water is a favourite exercise of charity, as besides the provision of this important element made by bendts and their apparatus, every little rill found in the vicinity of the city is carefully received into a marble reservoir, with a cup to use it. In the city every teké has a window fronting the street, along which stand a range of gilt metal cups, always filled with pure water for the passenger, and when any of them is used a dervish stands inside to replenish it.

The inmates of these colleges are everywhere seen la-

* Juvenal, Sat. xv.

louring in their vocation. They are distinguished by conical caps and woollen gowns of a whitish cloth, an iron-shod pole in one hand, and generally a long horn in the other. Between the burying-grounds on the Bosphorus are some large coffeehouses much frequented by Turks in summer, and I have taken a stool and a chibouque, and sat among them on the green platform before the door. A dervish generally appeared, who, standing in the midst, exhorted the company, and then went round with his long horn to collect their contributions.

But the most distinguished of the fraternity are those who perform their rites by dancing and howling. The first of these are named Mevelevis, from their founder, and they have their principal college at Koniah, in Asia Minor. They are generally humble, modest, and charitable. They fast on every Thursday till sunset, and on Tuesday and Friday the superiors expound to them some texts of the Koran. A part of their devotion consists in turning round, because, they say, their founder did so for fifteen days without intermission, while his friend Haraze played the flute; and they have a tradition that it is the same instrument whose music delighted Jacob and the Patriarchs. They manufacture it at Koniah, and a flute made there always brings the highest price: in the time of Ricaut it sold for twenty crowns. Like the order of St. Francis, they make vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty, which last, in fact, the word dervish implies. They have a college at Pera, at a place called Kioutopkane, where there is no exclusion, as in regular Mahomedan mosques, but persons of all religious persuasions are permitted to enter. I thought the ceremony so curious that I frequently attended it. Their temple is an octagonal building, resembling, in this respect, the Temple of the Winds, where they used

to perform their service at Athens. A gallery runs nearly round it, in which were placed a band of Turkish musicians. The principal instrument was the flute, which the minstrel sometimes inspired by breathing into it through his nose. The centre of the edifice below was railed in, and the congregation, having deposited their shoes at the door, ranged themselves between the inclosure and wall. The chief dervish sat on a red cushion, placed on a carpet. He was clad in a green robe, with the white conical cap of his order, but enveloped in a green veil. Beside him were several others, seated in different places. The floor was of dark wood, and so highly polished as to reflect figures; round the room were hung various black labels, having passages of the Koran inscribed on them.

The service commenced by one of the dervishes reading, or rather chaunting, several passages in a low, but solemn voice. The flutes of the gallery commenced whenever he ceased, while the dervishes kept their eyes fixed on the ground, and appeared rapt in mute devotion. There was something, I thought, exceedingly solemn in the sight and sound, and all the spectators present seemed to sympathize in the feeling. When this was ended, cymbals and drums struck out a more lively sound, and the dervishes, rising from the ground, walked round in procession, each saluting with a profound reverence the chief as they passed him. The foremost then placed himself in the centre, and began to turn round with a slow movement. The skirts of his long woollen garment seemed loaded below, so that as he turned they expanded, forming a large circle around him. He was followed by all the rest in succession, till the whole floor was covered with moving figures. Each person first turned round without changing his place, but presently he glided about some other, still revolving on his

own axis, till they formed a most curious mazy dance. I could not but admire the exceeding ease and dexterity with which these convolutions were conducted. Though crowded into a space apparently too small for the number, their dilated garments never impeded each other, but they passed with more ease, lightness, and elegance than I thought it possible for an awkward Turk. After the first feeling of admiration and pleasure at such a novel object was over, it was succeeded by one less agreeable. The sight of so many figures twirling round with such a rapid and incessant motion made the heads of the spectators giddy, and some of my companions, with others of the congregation, were obliged to go into the open air. It seemed, however, to have no such effect on the performers, who continued their movements with unabated rapidity, till, on a signal from the chief, they suddenly stopped. These movements were renewed at brief intervals, generally continuing for ten or twelve minutes, accelerated or retarded as the music was quick or slow. The ceremony lasted about one hour, when the dervishes resumed their seats, and the congregation dispersed. There was nothing in the service that seemed to be considered at all ludicrous or trifling; on the contrary, the impression left on all seemed to be of a serious cast, as at any other religious solemnity. I could not forget, that, however it might appear an act of levity with us, it was always held a serious act of devotion by Oriental nations. It was also considered so by the Jews. The Psalms direct that "the Lord be praised with the timbrel and dance;" and David, in bringing the Ark from Obad Edim, "danced before the Lord;" and in the thirteenth century the practice was adopted by some sects of Christians, who exhibited this rite in various towns in Flanders. It is performed by the Mevelevis once a week, but not on Friday, so

that it does not interfere with the regular service of the mosques.

The howling dervishes are of a very different character. They are called Kadris, from their founder. He was in the habit of repeating, during his acts of devotion, the word Hai, one of the attributes of God, so loudly and violently, that he burst a vessel in his lungs, and the blood dashed with such force against the wall as to leave the mark of it behind him, which always assumed the characters that formed the word he uttered; and this circumstance is at this day the foundation of their mode of worship. They formerly had tekes in Constantinople, but had retired from the capital to Scutari, so we took a caique and crossed the Bosphorus. These dervishes had no regular edifice, but occupied a house hired for the purpose, and a certain sum was exacted from every one that entered, as if it were a public show. The room was hung round with different implements to inflict bodily pain, and the performers were the most fierce and squalid-looking beings I ever beheld. Their hair was matted and shaggy, their countenances cadaverous, and their dress filthy; they looked like demoniacs whose residence was in tombs, ready to rush upon and tear any man who passed near them. Several of them advanced to the middle of the room where we were assembled, and began their rites by throwing their hands forward, and causing the word "Hai," with certain guttural sounds, to issue with an explosion from their lungs. They continued to repeat this, increasing the quickness of their motions and the loudness of their tones, till large drops of perspiration rolled down their faces, their mouths and lips were covered with foam, and they were worked up to a state of nervous excitement that was painful to look upon. They continued this longer than I thought it possible for human

nature to support, and at length retired, apparently feeble and exhausted. After a repetition of this most revolting spectacle, many of them came forward and began to exhibit like some of our showmen. They took down the implements from the wall, and some applied them red hot to their naked flesh, while others seemed to pierce and wound themselves in various ways. They appeared to be what one would conceive of the priests of Baal, "cutting themselves with knives and lancets," and rendering their grim deity propitious by personal inflictions. I left this exhibition of deception and fanaticism with insuperable disgust, and was well pleased to find, on my return a second time to Constantinople, that the good sense of the Sultan had discountenanced it, so that it was altogether discontinued.

Though the Turks have made but little progress in literature, their Sultans seemed well disposed to promote it. So early as the year 1353, Orcan founded a new mosque at Brusa, to which he attached an academy for the culture of literature and the liberal arts, which drew many students from Persia and Arabia*. After this example, several Sultans endeavoured to imbue their subjects with a love of literature. Whenever Amurat II. conquered a town, he established in it a mosque, a khan for travellers, an imaret, or khan for pilgrims and schoolmasters, and a medresie, or academy†. But the Augustus of the Turkish sultans was Mahomet II., who, among his fierce and atrocious qualities, cherished the very incompatible one of a love of literature, and he was called from the midst of his books to fill a throne. When he got possession of Constantinople, and converted Santa Sophia into a mosque, he attached to it a splendid academy, with apartments for students and professors, and assigned a large income for its support. Since that time various sultans distinguished themselves by simi-

* Cantemir, v. ii. l. 1. † D'Herbelot.

lar attentions to promote literature; and Bajazet, Selim, Solyman, Achmet, and Mustapha are memorable for founding academies which still exist and bear their names.

Among the last who distinguished themselves in this way was Abdul Hamed Khan, the father of the present Sultan, who, shortly before his son's birth, erected an academy near the mosque of the Sultana mother, hence called the College of the Valadé. The science of balloons had at this time excited a considerable interest in Europe, and an attempt was made to construct a balloon at Constantinople, and by a Turk. Abdelrahman was a pupil of the academy, and, in concert with a Persian physician, and with the aid of some bostangees, he constructed a balloon to carry three persons, in which they ascended from the gardens of the Seraglio, in the presence of the Sultan. The balloon was carried towards Mount Olympus, and they descended at its base, near Brusa. They also made another, which they despatched from the meadows of Buyukderé. It was a subject of deep and novel interest at the time, sufficient to stir the apathy even of a Turk, and Abdelrahman composed a poem on this new and wonderful conquest of man over the element of the air, as he had before subdued the land and the water. The poet, however, died before his epic was completed.

Besides these academies of higher instruction there are inferior schools, called Mechteb, where children are taught to read, write, and learn a short catechism of Mahomedan doctrine. When advanced, they generally become softa, that is, students of the medresie.

The professors or masters of those seminaries are called Muderi. A few days before the commencement of the Ramazan, it was their custom to assemble before the Sultan in classes of ten or twelve, and exhibit their capabilities by disputations on literary subjects, and those who distinguished themselves were rewarded by a purse. There were, before

the late revolution, about five hundred medresies, twelve hundred mechtebs, and four hundred muderis. Since that time these institutions are beginning to change their character, and five or six schools on the Lancasterian system have been formed.

There are thirteen public libraries in the capital, containing each about two thousand volumes of Turkish books. The library of the Seraglio, about the books of which so much interest has been excited, and so little learned that is satisfactory, was supposed to contain all the literature accumulated by the Greek emperors, and it was hoped that all the lost parts of classic works would be found among them. In the year 1728 the Abbé Sevin arrived at Constantinople to collect Greek MSS. for the library of the king of France, but he found the Seraglio inaccessible. He was assured that no Greek books remained there, for Amurat II. had burned them all. Another, however, gives a different account. Baudin describes the books of the library, and affirms that there were a hundred and twenty immense folio volumes remaining of the old library of the Constantines, which had escaped the sack of the city, and it was rumoured that the works of Livy were translated into Turkish, and that they were complete in all their parts.

The Abbé Toderini, who was at Constantinople in 1789, procured a page of the palace to take down a list of the books, which he effected, he says, at great hazard in forty days, by noting twenty or thirty a day. The Abbé wished to verify the accuracy of this catalogue, by having another taken by a different hand, but he could not succeed, and was obliged to be content with the report of the page. The catalogue contains one thousand one hundred and fifty books, all in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, and not a single one in Greek or Latin. He supposes, and with probability, that the greater

number had been brought by the fugitive Greeks to the libraries of Venice, Florence, and Rome. Dr. Hunt and Mr. Carlyle were equally unsuccessful. When the houses of the Greek princes were ransacked at the commencement of the revolution, all the books found there were exposed for sale. Among about thirty thousand volumes there was not found a single MS. or classical book that was not a recent imprint in either France or England. The oldest I could meet with was an edition of Barnes' Homer, printed at Cambridge in 1711. It has the name of Alexander Morousi written on it. It is highly probable that neither this mysterious library of the Seraglio nor any other at Constantinople contains any classical works but such as have been sent from the press in Europe.

I visited many of the other libraries, to which there is free access, but it would be tedious to particularize them. I shall mention but one, as the most remarkable. Raghib Pasha was the celebrated Vizir of Osman IV. and Mustapha, and about 1760 he erected a splendid library. Baron de Tott, who calls him Rachub, says his library was the first ever instituted in Constantinople, and that before it no other existed; but in this he was mistaken. I made inquiries, and found the Baron was erroneous in his assertion, but the library still existed as he described it; and my intelligent old friend, B. Pisani, was so good as to accompany me to see it. It is situated in a remote part of Constantinople. We arrived about twelve, and were immediately admitted. Beside the gateway was a school on the same foundation, containing about fifty scholars. They sat on cushions on the ground along the walls, with forms before them on which were their books. None were allowed but extracts from the Koran; they were all therefore in MS., as this book is yet considered too sacred to be subject to the process of printing. The master was fast asleep when we entered. Opposite the school

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were the tombs of Raghib and his wife the Sultan's sister, and his daughter. It is usual for a Turk to annex a library to his mausoleum. Halet Effendi did so afterwards at the teké of dancing dervishes at Pera.

In the middle stood the library. It was a large square edifice, with a dome in the centre and four smaller at the angles. The book-room was a spacious apartment, having in the centre four handsome columns, from whose capitals sprung the arches which supported the dome, with lateral ones forming a colonnade walk between. Within the square inclosure under the dome was wire-work, inclosing cases filled with books. They were ranged horizontally, presenting the ends; each was inclosed in its own case, covered at the exposed end with a flap containing the title. When a volume was wanted the case was taken out, and, by means of a cord, the book was made to issue from it. They were both printed and MS., but the latter were much more numerous. I inquired particularly for Sydenham's works, translated into Arabic, which was said by Toderini to be in this library. A work was shown us, called the "New Physician," which was in such high repute, that the Hakim Bashi of the Seraglio came constantly to consult it. Though not entered into the catalogue under the name of Sydenham, they did not know but it might have been the same work. There were two thousand books in the cases, but none written in the European languages. Several were the works of Hafiz and other Persian poets, and they were highly ornamented and beautifully transcribed. Round the room were cushions, and forms before them, and we found ten or twelve persons reading or copying, and among others some dervishes. The room was lighted by windows opened below to admit the air, and others above of ground glass, which shed a pleasing subdued light, and from the ceiling were suspended lamps.

We came here impressed with an idea that the Turks were exceedingly jealous and indisposed to suffer European Christians to inspect their books. Both Toderini and Sestini were compelled to take refuge in the house of an Armenian, for attempting to look into a Turkish book in a bazaar; and Spon and Wheler complained of the same treatment. We found no such feeling here. The librarian was civil and attentive, showed every book we wished to see, and freely suffered us to examine them; and finding I was an imaun attached to the Elchi Bey, he even invited me to come and read whenever I was disposed.

These libraries have received accessions of printed books from the press introduced into Constantinople in 1727. Three attempts were made to establish it. The first produced eighteen books in twenty-eight years; the second, six in ten years; and the third, more successful, made by Abdul Hamed, father of the present Sultan, at Scutari, about forty books in as many years. The early efforts of the press were expended on military works, in which it was aided by one set up by the French embassy at Pera, from which issued translations into Turkish of some of the most celebrated European works, not only on military but naval tactics, which it is probable gave the first incentive to that alteration in the Turkish system which led to the destruction of the janissaries. The types of the first press were nearly worn out, and the printing bad; but a new set was obtained for that at Scutari, which produced many neat and perfect impressions. I visited this printing office in 1822, and obtained copies of several works executed there. The superintendent gave me a catalogue of books then published, including three in French, printed in Roman characters, which I send you *. Many important ones

* See Appendix, No. XIII.

have since appeared. In the list you will see one called "Kamus," a very large dictionary of Turkish and Arabic. Now Kamus signifies "the ocean," and implies that the work abounds in words as the sea does in fish. It is remarkable that the Greeks called their dictionary, published about the same time, Kibotos, or "the Ark," for a similar fanciful reason. In connexion with this was a glossary published in rhyme, that the precepts might be more easily recollected, proving that verse has been used in all ages and countries as aids to memory. The most remarkable book, however, in this way is one called "Lutfigee." It is a mass of information on various scientific, moral and occult subjects, including astrology, sorcery, &c., written in rhyme; and to show the power of his memory, as well as the extent of his knowledge, the author declares that he composed it in seven days, and while he was sick.

But the Turks do not confine their poetry to the mere use of a *memoria technica,* they employ it for various other purposes, and are, like Orientals in general, a people who think in metaphor and speak in song. Collections of poems, called "Diwan," including those called "Kassida," and "Gazela," are numerous in the bazaars. Indeed it appears that the correspondence between Grand Vizirs and Sultans on important subjects was often carried on in rhyme; ambassadors sent home their despatches in metre, and several officers of state have been as much distinguished for their poetical as their political talents. In the schools lately established by the Sultan for the education of accomplished functionaries, the whole art of poetry forms a conspicuous part. Instructions are given for the use of metaphorical images, how to clothe them in metre, and in what manner to select poetic expressions. Among the models of composition are usually considered the poems

of Galib, who seems to have been the Hafiz of the Turks. Copies of his works are in every book bazaar, and passages from his fanciful poem of "Love and Beauty" are in every one's mouth. He was born at Constantinople, flourished at the end of the last century, and adorned the reigns of Abdul Hamed and Selim.

Great accessions have been made since the press has been revived at Constantinople, and, besides the periodicals, new works are constantly announced. A most important one was published by Ishaak Effendi, formerly dragoman of the Porte, but now first professor of the academy of engineers. It is a Cyclopædia of Mathematical Science, in four volumes, including arithmetic, algebra, trigonometry, conic sections, mechanics, hydraulics, optics, electricity, astronomy, and chemistry. This phenomenon excited much interest among the Turks at the time. There are as yet no booksellers' shops where it may be had, but it is sold by the author for thirty piastres a volume. Another circumstance, which formed an epocha in Turkish literature, was a prospectus for publishing works by subscription. In 1832, an announcement appeared in the newspapers of the capital, of an intended publication called Ankudes Sewakis, which signifies "Blossoms of Grapes." It is a philological work, on which the publisher passes a high eulogium, and proves that the art of puffing has been introduced into the infant literature of the Turks as an early European improvement. Since that time others have been similarly announced.

A circumstance which retarded the art of printing was the number of persons who obtained their living by transcribing. This was aided by the inhibition laid on the press as to the character of the works. In the permission granted originally all religious subjects were expressly prohibited by Achmet III. Since then the order has been

relaxed, and several doctrinal books, commenting on the Turkish creed, conditions of prayer, and others, have been printed. The Koran, however, has never yet passed through the press; and as it is the book still most used by the Turks, and the only one which many yet allow themselves to read, the scribes have even now abundance of employment.

The Turks are remarkably fond of flowers, and their poets sometimes assume the name of a favourite one as their designation. Wehbi, "the gifted," is better known by the name Sunbulisade, "Child of a Hyacinth," from his admiration of that flower. This taste originated with Kara Mustapha, the Vizir of Mahomet IV. The Sultan was a man of retired habits, fond of the country and all its pleasures. This propensity the Vizir encouraged, and among other rural pursuits he endeavoured to inspire him with a love of flowers and their culture. To this end he sent to all the Pashas of the empire to search for whatever was rare and beautiful in their pashalics. They collected therefore the seeds and roots of all the most beautiful flowers of the islands and continent of the Turkish empire, and sent them to Constantinople, where, by careful culture, they produced those fine specimens which individuals of the different European missions have at different times sent to their respective countries.

One of the most interesting places in the capital is the Flower Bazaar. It is held every Monday morning for trees, roots, and plants, in a long street beside the Drug Bazaar, which in fact opens into it; so that the vegetable kingdom is here displayed in all its stages. I was fond of visiting this place, and was as much pleased with the magnificent specimens there exhibited, as surprised that so coarse and ignorant a people could cultivate so elegant a pursuit, and with so much skill. Not only the ranunculus,

anemone, and tulip were superior to anything I had ever seen; but the habitats of all that were rare and curious in their native plants were searched out, and the ophrys, the orchis, and all that curious tribe, were collected there in great variety. Whenever I visited it I met crowds of Turks returning, loaded with the produce of this bazaar. This taste seems to pervade all classes. The Tchiraghan, or "Festival of Illuminated Tulips," is among the high enjoyments of the Seraglio; the various characters of blossoms afford to the lover and the poet the most expressive emblems; and the rude and brutal janissaries and trombagees seemed to receive from them uncommon gratification. In every coffeehouse I have seen pots of fragrant herbs, which a Turk sits beside, and while he holds his chibouque with one hand, he passes the other over the plant, and applies it to his nose, so as to enjoy at once the scent of the flower and the flavour of the tobacco. The trombagees stick them in their fire-engines; and I have seen them sitting quietly beside them, and enjoying the smell, in the midst of the most fearful conflagrations.

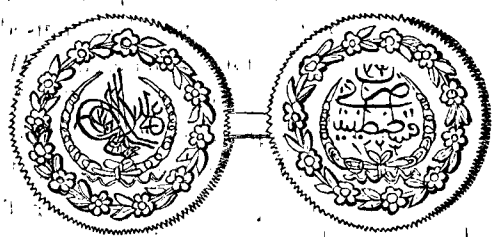
Among the esculents which a Turk cultivates are cavac and cavum, gourds and melons, of which there are above thirty species and varieties exposed for sale, forming piles in the markets like hay-ricks. The first are used in soups, and boiled with meat. Sometimes the pulp is pushed out, and the cavity filled with rice or forced meat; it is then called dolma. The melons are eaten raw, and in vast quantities. The most highly prized is that from Cassaba, in Asia Minor; and one species from Angora is so skillfully managed, that the seeds were sent to me in bottles, carefully sealed, lest the fine essential spirit should evaporate. The carpoos, or water-melon, is the great refreshment of the working classes in warm weather. I have met hummals in the dog-days,

labouring up the steep streets from Galata with an incredible weight on their heads and a carpoos under their arm. When exhausted with exertion, they stop, cut a slice of the carpoos, and, suffering it to dissolve in their mouths, they move on quite refreshed. It is to a Turkish porter what tea is to a Chinese, or whiskey to an Irishman.

Tobacco was first introduced into Turkey in the reign of Achmet I., about the year 1604, when the Dutch began to trade there. As soon as the use of it was becoming general, the Mufti, influenced by the complaints of some scrupulous people, issued a fetva against it, as contrary to the principles of the Koran, which forbid the use of wine and spirits, because of their intoxicating qualities, and as tobacco caused a similar effect, the Prophet, he affirmed, meant to include it also. To this it was replied, that the Prophet only forbade such things as left dregs in the stomach, the fumes of which rose from thence to the head, and not only caused intoxication but diseases; that tobacco produced a vapour which caused a pleasant sensation, and left no dregs behind. This discussion was cut short by Nassat, the Grand Vizir, who had acquired a fondness for it. He ordered it to be distributed to the janissaries as rations, and from that time the use was universally established. A Turk never chews it, I believe, and seldom snuffs. The smoke of tobacco, however, seems to be essential to his existence; and it is no exaggeration to say, he continues to inhale it for twelve hours a-day, when there is nothing to interfere with his indulgence.

The coins in circulation in Turkey are the para, piastre, and mahmoodie, with pieces comprising a less or greater number of each. The piastre is the standard, containing forty paras. The actual value of this is regulated by the

exchange. When I first went to Constantinople there were twenty in 1*l.* sterling, so one was worth 1*s.*; when I left it for the last time there were eighty in 1*l.*, so its value was but 3*d.* The asper, the rhubia, and the fonduk had become extinct. The para, which is now the fortieth part of 3*d.*, or not one-third of a farthing, was once a respectable coin. It contained four aspers, and an old gentleman told me he remembered the time when he could dine for a para, and get an asper change. It is a minute piece of base metal, so small and thin that it can be taken up singly only by wetting the tip of the finger, to which it sticks, and it is measured out on a board, and spouted into a bag. A Turkish coin as yet admits of no similitude of the sovereign's head, but he is represented in another manner. On one side is the year of the Hegeira in which he began his reign, and the year of his reign in which the coin was struck. On the other is his nizam, or cypher. The reverse of that



above implies "23, coined at Constantinople, 1223." The obverse when explicated forms the letters which express "Sultan Mahmood Khan, son of Sultan Abdul Hamed Khan, ever victorious." An officer of high rank, called Nizamgee, is appointed to impress this cypher officially on all public documents, as the Sultan's signature.

The asper, which is but the twelfth part of a farthing, exhibits an extraordinary instance of great events from little

causes. The janissaries were entitled by ancient prescription to a certain number of aspers (called essames), in addition to their pay. Among the first reforms of the Sultan was depriving them of this gratuity, of which they loudly complained, and their discontent on this account was among the principal causes of the events that followed. Our wits of the palace said the revolution was the consequence of their being ex*asper*ated.

The arts can have made but little progress among a people to whom statuary and painting are prohibited by their religion. Even if it were not so, there is a *gaucherie*, a want of flexibility, about the hand of a Turk, as if all his fingers were thumbs, which seems to disqualify him, even if he were disposed to manual dexterity. A friend of mine attributed their honesty to this cause. A Turk sometimes robs, but he never privately steals from a man's person, because he has not expertness enough to pick a pocket. Their locks are of the rudest construction, and what amused me very much was the misapplication of materials. What think you of a wooden lock on an iron gate? The khans have doors of that metal to stop the progress of fire, but they are fastened by a wooden lock, with a square keyhole.

Turkish mechanics always work together in finishing a house. The painter does not wait till the carpenter is done, but he follows him with a long brush: he begins at a board before the other has finished with it; and I have frequently seen him daub the carpenter's knuckles, while he was hammering the nails. You sometimes see half of a house finished, and the other half scarce begun. The glazier makes his putty of whiting and water; he mixes it up on the pane of glass, and lays it in with his thumb. If you attempt to clean the glass, you push out the pane, and the first shower of rain washes it out. In fact, most of their

tools, and the manner in which they work with them, are on principles opposite to ours. Among the schools which the present Sultan has established to correct the ignorance of his subjects is one for the study of architecture. The instructions given are generally translations from European works; so that it is to be hoped the reformation will extend even to hammers and saws.

When the simple mechanical arts are so low, you cannot expect that those of a higher order can have made much progress. A story is told of a Turk who had lost a tooth, and he applied to a Frank dentist in Pera to put in another. It was well done, and supplied the place of that which he had lost. A friend of his lost an eye, and he applied to a Frank oculist, who supplied artificial ones. He put in one of enamel, so natural that the difference could hardly be perceived. The Turk, however, returned the next day to complain that he could not see with his artificial eye as well as his neighbour could eat with his artificial tooth. The oculist assured him it was merely because he was not used to it, but in a short time his sight would be as clear through it as the other. The Turk departed satisfied; but the oculist thought it prudent to depart before he paid him another visit. Every Turk of respectability carries a watch, which is always made in Europe and repaired by some Frank or Armenian watchmaker at Pera. The Turks begin to reckon their hours at sun-set and sun-rise, the length of which are continually varying, those of the day being longer in summer, and those of the night in winter. A Turk complained to a friend of mine of the stupidity of Frank watchmakers, who could not make the hands move with the sun, and be always the same hour when he sets; he was continually regulating his watch by that of a Frank, and I could not understand how

he managed when he had not one to apply to. I do not know that there is or ever was a Turkish watchmaker in Constantinople.

You wish to know what is the actual opinion entertained of women in Turkey, and in what estimation they are held. The injunctions of the Koran are very explicit on this subject. It recognizes the Mosaic account that God created one man, and out of him his wife, and that these two had multiplied men and women. It directs a man to respect a woman, for she bore him, and to take not more than four wives; but if he cannot act justly to so many, to take only *one*. Over those he takes, however, he is allowed much authority, even to shut them up and chastise them. Generally, a Turk has but a single wife; I never knew one personally who had more, though no married man ever scrupled to purchase female slaves without restriction of number, particularly Greeks during the insurrection, and live with them without scandal. It did not appear that this contributed to their domestic harmony, for some wives did not hesitate openly to express their discontent, and often compelled their husbands to sell them again. One of the houses that overlooked the palace-garden was inhabited by a respectable Turk, who excited great commotion in his family by introducing some of these females. Every day, and sometimes all day long, we heard the shrill sound of his wife's voice, scolding either him or the slaves; and we availed ourselves of the circumstance to repurchase one of them at a bargain, and restore her to her friends.

Turkish women in general are not shut up in harems, but walk about to the markets and bazaars as freely as men. They, however, always group together, and males and females are never seen mixed in the public places as with us. The upper classes are more secluded, and they do not go abroad except in long arrhubas, like waggons, where

eight or ten sit together on the floor, inclosed round with silk curtains. They are not seen except when the wheels jolt over the irregular pavement and displace the curtains, when the mass of heads is observed just over the edge of the arrhuba, in which no features can be distinguished but their noses; indeed, it seems to be very prominent in a Turkish woman, perhaps because it is the only part of the face that is protruded beyond the veil.

They are generally of a kind and affectionate disposition to strangers of their own sex. Frequently in walking outside the town with my daughter, they would stop to speak to her, and finding the degree of relationship between us, would evince for her great courtesy, stroking her affectionately with their hands, and present her with fruit or flowers, or any thing they held. She often availed herself of the invitation of a neighbour, and went in to visit her, accompanied by her Greek female attendant, and she was always received and treated with great kindness and courtesy. Their feelings on the subject of Islamism seem less intolerant than that of the men. A Turk with whom I had frequent intercourse wished to become a Christian and leave Turkey, and often spoke to me on the subject. He had a wife who adhered to her own faith, and it was a serious thing to separate him from her. I found, however, that she had no objection; not that she wished it herself, for they lived happily together, but she thought it quite reasonable that he should follow the dictates of his conscience on such a subject, and he could not do so in Turkey but at the hazard of his life. There was some property which they proposed to divide, and I left Constantinople before a final arrangement could be made on the subject.

With respect to their souls I can say nothing decided. Ricaut* and others affirm that they themselves, as well as

* Hist. of the Ottom. Emp. Book 2.

the men, believe they have no such thing; but I cannot find that the Koran deprives them of this immortal part. It is true that the houris promised to the faithful are not to be those whose society they enjoyed in this life, but it is not reasonable to suppose that the Prophet intended to deny that to the fair sex which he has conferred on inferior animals. I have asked several Turks their opinion, and they certainly seemed to think that women had no souls, and would not rise at the resurrection to interfere with their promised happiness; and a janissary at the palace gate affirmed to me that his wife's soul would die with her body. In their cemeteries the tomb of a man is always surmounted with a respectable head, with a turban indicating by its folds the rank the man held in life. The stone that marks the grave of a woman has no head, but a flat top like a nail; and certainly, as far as the soul is connected with the intellect, it would imply that, in their opinion, a woman had neither one nor the other.

But you ask me, have the Turkish men no redeeming qualities among those fierce and brutal ones which, for so many years, I saw them displaying? I answer, they have many which might serve as models to more enlightened people. Their unfeigned and ardent piety—their strict but unaffected regard to the laws which their religion imposes —their devoted submission to the will of their sovereign, as the descendant of their Prophet, and holding his crown by divine right—the respect they pay to their superiors who are set in authority, though raised from the same rank as themselves—their noble pride in estimating only personal merit, and retaining, as a matter to boast of, the name of the humble trade to which they were born—their charity to all who are distressed—their exceeding sobriety and moderation in all their appetites—their immoveable integrity, and their being the carriers of untold

gold to our merchants, who trust them with the most implicit confidence, and never yet had occasion to withdraw it —the gravity of their deportment, and the moral solidity of their character, are general qualities in which few Turks, of whatever rank they may be, are found deficient. I know nothing more grateful or pleasing than the simple and unaffected kindness of a Turk. There is a natural courtesy about him that is altogether independent of factitious manners. He addresses his equals by the name of brother, his elder he calls master, and his junior son, and in general regulates his deportment towards them by the feelings that would arise from such relations. Such qualities must make the people in whom they are found, and their transition from ignorance to knowledge, highly interesting.

In May, 1832, I again left Constantinople, where it had been my lot to witness the rise and progress of two great revolutions—one the emancipation of the Greeks from the dominion of the Turks; the other, of the Turks themselves from the more hopeless dominion of prejudice and ignorance. On my first going out I saw Athens in a state of miserable degradation—it is now the seat of government of a free and independent people; I saw Constantinople immersed in darkness and ferocity—it is now the abode of an improving population. The destiny of Greece is fixed—that of Turkey remains in the womb of time—whether, enlightened by that literature and civilization which have dawned on it, it will finally adopt the religion and free institutions of the West, and so become a member of the great European family; or, falling under the power of a neighbour, it will merge into a province of a state half Asiatic, add other millions to the slaves already in bondage, and improvement end in engrafting European vices on Oriental ignorance.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Books printed at the Patriarchal Press at Constantinople, with notices of the Authors.

Ἀκολουθία τῆς Ἁγίας Ματρώνης καὶ τοῦ Ἁγιου Ἀρτεμιού.
Ἐραστὴς σορίας, ἢ Κατήχησις Σεργίου Μακραίου.
Γεναδίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου περὶ συγγνωστῶν καὶ θανασίμων ἁμαρτημάτων.
Ἐξήγησις Ψαλτῆρος, ὁ πρῶτος τόμος.
Γραμματικὴ Ματθαίου, εἰς δύω τόμους.
Λόγος εἰς τὴν γενικὴν Ἱστοριαν Βοσσουέτου.
Φαρμακοποιΐα Πύῤῥου.
Ἱστορία καὶ πρόοδος τῆς Ἰατρικῆς.
Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἁγίου Μελετίου.
Ἀπανθίσματα ἐκ τῶν λόγων Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου.
Ὁ Αἰθίοψ ὑπηρέτης.
Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν λόγων τοῦ Δόκτορος Οὐάττς.
Βίος Γουλιέλμου Κέλλυ.
Ἐπιτομὴ περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ διαλέγεσθαι μετὰ τῶν Θεϊστῶν.
Λόγοι τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τουρκιστὶ.
Λειτουργίαι Ἀρχιερατικαὶ.
Λειτουγίαι Ἱερατικαὶ.
Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ὁσίου Δαβὶδ.
Εὐχολόγιον.
Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἁγίου Λουκᾶ.
Λόγοι Ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ, τουρκιστὶ.
Κυριακοδρόμιον Θεοτόκη, τουρκιστὶ.
Γραμματικὴ, Ἀριάδνη.
Θύρα μετανοίας, τουρκιστὶ.
Φυσιογνωμικὰ Ἀριστοτέλους.
Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἐλευθεριου.
Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἁγίου Διονυσιου.
Ἀλφαβητάριον τῶν παίδων.
Ἀκολουθία Στολιάνου.
Κιβωτὸς τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλωσσης, ὁ πρωτος τόμος.

AMBROSIUS ARGENTIS.—This young author, when the patriarchal press was destroyed, was scarcely nineteen years of age. He is a native of Scio, and was educated there. Before he was seventeen he printed and published a Treatise on Navigation, in which he warmly recommends to his countrymen in general, but particularly to his fellow-citizens of Scio, to apply themselves to maritime commerce as an inexhaustible fund of wealth and prosperity. This treatise was extensively circulated, and from the wonderful exertions of the Hydriotes, Spezziotes, and Ipsariotes, it seems to have had an extraordinary effect.

KOUMAS.—This gentleman is a didaskalos, or professor, at Smyrna. He has recently published elementary instructions in philosophy, to which is prefixed a short view of the labours of the Germans in this branch of learning. This work was printed at Vienna, and received with great enthusiasm.

SERGIUS JOHANNES.—This gentleman is a physician of Constantinople. He has written a history of medicine, from the earliest ages to the present day, the first volume of which was published at the patriarchal press in the year 1818.

JOHANNES AMYROS, a merchant of Scio, wrote the history of Artemios and his mother, who were natives of Scio, and much respected there.

SERGIUS MAKRI wrote several works of repute among the modern Greeks, among the rest Ερασης σοφιας ακολουθια. He was a philosopher of Yanina, but latterly resided at Constantinople, in the Convent of Jerusalem, where he died some years ago, at the age of eighty.

GENADIUS was the celebrated patriarch made by Mahomet II. when he took Constantinople. He wrote περι συγγνωστων και θανασιμων αμαρτηματων.

Εξηγησις Ψαλτηριου. This interpretation of the Psalms of David was made and compiled from different authors.

ALEXANDER, a young man of the Fanal, translated the Λογος εις την γενικην Ιστοριου Βοσσουετου (General History of Bossuet).

The Office, or Service of St. Miletius.

Translation of Dr. Watts was made in England, and sent to Constantinople. It was very badly done, but corrected by Argyramo, superintendent of the press.

Johannes Chrysostom. The same.

Life of W. Kelly. The same.

CHATZE YANGEDAN, a schoolmaster of Boulderloo, in Asia Minor, translated into Turkish the Sayings of St. Chrysostom.

NEOPHYTOS of Athens, now bishop of Talantion, in the Morea, composed the Service of St. David, an anchoret of Negropont.

CYRIL composed the service of St. Louka. Cyril had been patriarch of Constantinople before Gregory, and had established the present printing-office at the Fanal, and given his assent to the printing and distributing the Scriptures in modern Greek. After his deposition he resided at Adrianople, on a pension allowed him by the community of the Greeks, and which is always assigned by them to ex-patriarchs, who can never again descend to the enjoyment of a bishopric. He had been archbishop of Adrianople before he was elected patriarch, and therefore preferred it as a residence. He was accused by the Turks of holding communication with the rebels, and hanged there at the commencement of the insurrection. He was about fifty years old, and was a man highly esteemed for his learning, and respected for his probity by his countrymen.

ANASTATIUS, a native of Cæsarea, translated the Physics of Aristotle into modern Greek and Turkish.

GREGORY the patriarch ordered the Ακολουθια Στολιανου to be printed for the use of the monks of Mount Athos.

DEMETRIUS MOROUSI was a Greek of the first talents, and possessed an energy of character and intrepidity of mind that commanded the respect of, and held in awe, the Turks themselves. He was the great promoter of everything that was useful and likely to raise the character of his nation. But particularly he was the patron of education, founded the academy of Korou Chesmé, supported the press, and by his means the Κιβωτός, or Greek Lexicon, was undertaken and carried on. He was one of those rare characters among modern Greeks who united the energy, ability, and literary taste of the ancient republican character, and, had he lived, would perhaps have been a conspicuous leader in the revolution; but the Turks, dreading his talents, had him basely assassinated at Shumla, some years before it commenced. In an Epigram in the Preface of the Κιβώτος his services and death are thus noticed and lamented by the Lexicon:

Εἰ μὴ Μουρούζης Δημήτριος ἦεν ὁ κλεινός,
Οὔκετι ἐγὼ νυν φῶς εἶδον ἰμερτὸν ἀεί.
Ἀλλά με πένθος ἀτειρὲς ἔχει, ὅτι πάντας ἰδοῦσα,
Μοῦνον ἐκεῖνον ἰδεῖν δύσμορος οὐ δύναμαι.

No. II.

The first Dragoman's Report to the British Ambassador of his Conversation with the Reis Effendi on the subject of the Sciote Hostages.

"In every place," said the Reis Effendi, "where our victorious arms are carried, they have constantly been preceded by the renewed offer of a full and entire amnesty. But what reception have those found who were the bearers of the words of peace? They have been inhumanly massacred, and their message turned into derision. Even at Scio, in that unhappy island, which has become the bloody theatre of the most frightful disorders, the Capitan Pasha had reiterated many times the offer of clemency of the sovereign, but the rebels only answered it by new outrages, new massacres, in immolating, without pity, to their blind rage, the unfortunate Mussulmans who had fallen into the hands of these barbarous Christians. Can one be astonished at the terrible reactions which have been the natural consequence of the disgusting horrors commenced by the rebels? However, the deplorable fate of Scio has not less penetrated with the most profound sorrow the magnanimous soul of our august sovereign, who enjoys some consolation in being able to say to himself, that it did not depend on him to turn this torrent of calamities, after that the rebels had audaciously repulsed an offer which had been guaranteed to them by the seal and the sacred word of his Highness. If Scio had remained faithful, it had never been molested; it would have continued tranquil and flourishing, like Syra and the other loyal islands.

"The ambassador, our friend, has often addressed to us, through his first dragoman, representations on the sorrowful fate of Scio; but he never yet has shown the appearance of pity for the equally sorrowful fate of the unhappy Mussulmans slaughtered at Tripolizza, at Navarino, at Corinth, and, lastly, at Athens, after being delivered up to their implacable enemies upon the good faith of the most solemn capitulations. We cannot doubt an instant that our friend the ambassador has not participated in our indignation, on learning the enormity of these atrocious and multiplied crimes; and we ask him, if the perpetration of the like horrors does not explain the exasperation and the thirst for vengeance which must be the inevitable result amongst our people? It would be necessary that our brother Mussulmans were either *more* or *less* than men to resist the like provocations.

"Not one single individual has been punished with death,

except when the government had previously obtained the proofs or the *moral conviction* of his guilt."

Here I could not prevent myself from interrupting the Reis Effendi in only pronouncing the words " Hostages of Scio."

" Surely these were hostages," replied the Reis Effendi, " that is to say, guarantees for the loyalty and good conduct of their fellow-citizens. These latter knew the danger to which their sureties were exposed, and they easily could have preserved them from it. In all times and in all countries, hostages have been given, and this wise precaution has never been considered a simple formality. Suppose a Christian chief received hostages to warrant the execution of the capitulation of a strong place, or any other contract, whether civil or military, and that the capitulation was violated, or the agreement not executed—what would he do with these hostages? No doubt that every Christian would cause them to pay with life the forfeit of violated good faith.

" But still more, these hostages were themselves personally guilty. Without reflecting upon the danger of their situation, and only occupied in braving us, many of them have served as spies to their accomplices, in clandestinely sending to them information, which we have intercepted, about the number and strength of the ships of the Capitan Pasha, who was then preparing to sail.

" The ambassador has thought it his duty to address to us remonstrances upon what we do with the slaves; but is he ignorant that our laws and religion authorize us ? And, besides, is there not, even at the present day, many Christian states who make a traffic of slaves, not rebels conquered and legally reduced to bondage, but unhappy creatures which they drag from nations with whom they have never been at war? We know that it is not a very long time since, and not without many difficulties and objections, that the other powers have decided to look upon slavery as a revolting and odious circumstance. On the other hand, the ambassador ought to be informed that at this moment thousands of our brother Mussulmans groan under the weight of the chains with which our enemies the Greeks have loaded them. And we are induced to hope that our friend will be too impartial not to admit the striking contrast between the kindness and humanity with which we treat those whom the fate of war, or the senseless rebellion of their kindred and allies, have placed in our hands, and the atrocious cruelties that the Greeks wantonly exercise upon the unfortunate old men, the unhappy females, and even upon the poor innocent children, whom the inscrutable laws of Divine Providence have caused to fall into captivity.

" I am, perhaps, too diffuse on this subject," pursued the Reis Effendi, " but as it is one of those which gives occasion in Europe to many declamations, exaggerations, and tales invented at leisure,

I have thought it necessary to go more deeply into the question with our friend the ambassador. It now only remains for me to add, that if you wish for still more proofs of our readiness and willingness to make a just distinction between the innocent and the guilty (which I repeat would be almost to offer us an affront), I have to beg you to remember the measures taken by the different authorities, and of which yourself even have been a witness during the last four weeks. Hundreds of Mussulman subjects have been punished with death, and what was the crime of most part of them?—that of having, through pure malice, attacked the lives and property of the poor innocent and peaceable Rayas.

"You see, then, that the Sultan truly renders an impartial and distributive justice, and that his Highness is always equally ready to protect the innocent Raya and punish the guilty Mussulman."

No. III.

Lord Strangford's Letter to Lord Liverpool, on the subject of Scio.

"Constantinople, 26th August, 1822.

"My Lord,

"I was honoured on the 11th instant with your Lordship's despatch, No. 6, respecting the late most unhappy transactions at Scio.

"I felt no ordinary satisfaction in receiving his Majesty's commands upon this subject, because they were in entire conformity with the representations already made by me to the Porte, of the general horror and disgust which the proceedings at Scio had excited throughout the British empire.

"I did not perceive any necessity for treating the feelings of the Turkish ministers with much delicacy upon the occasion, and I accordingly directed Mr. Hamilton to prepare a literal version of your Lordship's despatch, which was communicated *in extenso* to the Porte on the 17th instant, by my first interpreter.

"The Reis Effendi, who, in common with many of his colleagues, deplores the conduct of the Turkish troops at Scio, and who, I can conscientiously assert, feels ashamed of the disgrace it has brought upon his country, appeared to be greatly affected by the unreserved expression of his Majesty's sentiments upon the subject. But he endeavoured to justify his government by urging the unremitting cruelties which the Greeks had perpetrated in the Morea, the massacre of the Turkish garrisons at Corinth, Tripolizza, Navarino, and Athens; the unprovoked

murder of the officers sent to Scio by the Capitan Pasha with the proposed amnesty; the insults offered to the mosques in that island, and all the various circumstances of atrocity in which I lament to say that the Greek war has been but too abundant.

" Almost all the arguments employed by the Reis Effendi, when I mentioned the affair of Scio at my last conference, were again produced upon this occasion; and as your Lordship will have perceived, from my report of that conference, they consisted in little more than a series of attempts to justify one system of barbarity by the existence of another, and to prove that the right of making slaves was founded on the Mussulman law, and was certainly not in opposition at this day to the avowed or secret practice of some Christian states.

" My dragoman was perfectly able and, what is more, perfectly willing to meet the Reis Effendi upon this ground, and from his report of what passed it appears that the Reis Effendi was obliged at last to rest his justification of the enormities committed at Scio on the treason of the inhabitants, and on the fact of the descent upon that island not having been a spontaneous and sudden movement on the part of the Samiotes, but the result of a concerted plan, and of an urgent invitation to the insurgents at Samos from their brethren at Scio. The Reis Effendi said that he could prove, from documents in his possession, that this correspondence had been carried on for several months. Unfortunately it did not occur to Mr. Chabert to ask why, if that was the case, the Turkish government did not take measures to prevent the descent, of which, by their own confession, they were forewarned, instead of leaving the island absolutely without defence, and at the mercy of the first invader.

" On the subject of the Sciote hostages the same accusations were urged against them which the Reis Effendi introduced on the occasion of my last conference.

" I feel assured that the manner in which this affair has been taken up, and the unequivocal and downright manner in which I have expressed his Majesty's sentiments respecting it, cannot have failed to produce the strongest effect upon the minds of the Turkish ministers, and that these effects will be perceptible in the future conduct of the Porte towards her revolted subjects. They are now no strangers to the detestation with which their cruelty has been viewed throughout that country, which they look upon to be their most sincere and disinterested friend, and whose good opinion I cannot help flattering myself that they will now make an effort to recover.

" I hope that I may be permitted to avow the pride which I feel in reflecting, that the only government which has hitherto branded the transactions at Scio with the indignant and fearless expression of its abhorrence is that of Great Britain."

(Signed) " STRANGFORD."

No. IV.

Fetva and Warning issued from the Mosque of Santa Sophia and others at Constantinople, in February, 1823.

THE envoy of God, on whom be his benediction, commands that any person who shall bear about the one hundred and four names of the Lord God, or shall read them, if stones shall rain down from heaven on the earth, the Lord God shall preserve him from all evil; moreover, he shall be secure against the evil tongues of the malicious, against fraud, against sudden death, and against the worm of hell: and if with sincere faith he carries them, neither arrow nor sword nor spear can hurt him, my son; and he shall be protected from enemies, from accusers, from assassins, and from the malignity of the demons,—from serpents, venomous animals, and scorpions; and if he shall journey into distant countries, he shall return safe and unharmed to his own house, and, before lords and princes and judges, he shall be honoured and respected, and in every place his word shall prevail.

[Here follow one hundred and four epithets of God in Arabic.]

Whoever shall cause to be written this prayer, and give *one* asper, shall be accepted, as if his prayers were offered up; whoever shall cause it to be written, and give *two* aspers, shall be accepted, as if his fast was completed; whoever shall cause it to be written, and give *three* aspers, shall make his life in this world unchangeable; whoever shall cause it to be written, and give *four* aspers, shall make his temporal state secure; whoever shall cause it to be written, and give *five* aspers, shall cause his son to live; whoever shall cause it to be written, and give *six* aspers, shall be free from the seven hells; whoever shall cause it to be written, and give *seven* aspers, shall cause the seven gates of hell to be shut; whoever shall cause it to be written, and give *eight* aspers, shall open the eight gates of paradise; whoever shall cause it to be written, and give *nine* aspers, shall give abundance to his wealth and possessions, and secure himself against any kind of evil.

[Here follow the one hundred and four names of God, without the epithets.]

The envoy of God, on whom be his blessing, was sitting in his chamber of prayer: the angel Gabriel, on whom be peace and health, came to him and said, "Oh Mahomet, the Lord God has sent you his salutation." Then Gabriel said, "Whoever shall read this prayer, and carry it about him, the seas, the waters, the trees shall move themselves in reverence, and, at the point of death, the Lord God with his power shall free his soul from the sentence pronounced against the wicked; he shall not see pur-

gatory, and in the tomb the Lord God shall give him two DAMSELS, one on his right hand, and the other on his left, so that, looking in the face of both, he shall meet the last day of judgment." Then Gabriel said, "Whoever shall read this on the 15th of the month *Ramazan*, at the hour of the *namaz*, shall find a remedy for all his wants."

[Here follow the one hundred and four names of God, with the epithets.]

The envoy of God, on whom be his blessing, was passing from this perishing world to another life, when Fatima his daughter was lamenting, with great grief and affliction. The envoy of God said to her, "My dear Fatima, why do you lament?" The woman said, "Oh, prophet of God, I am deprived of the sight of your blessed countenance, and therefore I lament." The envoy of God said, "Whoever shall regard my daughter shall see my face; and whoever shall respect my daughter shall see my presence, and shall be happy and prosperous from day to day, and shall be secure from the evils of this world of death, and in the last day of judgment he shall pass with my light, and shall not deserve the fire of hell."

[Here follow seven Talismans, containing Arabic sentences, which are to be worn on the wrist, arm, head, inside the turban, and other parts of the body, to guard the wearer against sabre, pistol, yatigan, evil-eye, or other accidents: 1st circle, against a sword; 2nd, against the colic; 3rd, against pain in the breast; 4th, against an evil-eye; 5th, to cause his word to be respected; 6th, to cause prosperity; 7th, for happiness.]

[Here follow verses from the first and third chapters of the Koran, against evils: 1st, against fever; 2nd, against headache; 3rd, against colic; 4th, against sore eyes; 5th, against lumbago.]

[Here follows a remedy against seven kinds of diseases, which attack the head, teeth, eyes, throat, neck, shoulders, ears, breast, navel, belly, hands, and feet.]

[Here follows a remedy against the infernal worm, and seventy-seven kinds of maladies.]

[Here follows a remedy against three hundred and sixty-six diseases.]

[Here follows a charm, consisting of the Turkish alphabet, corresponding with the numbers.]

[Here follows a remedy against every kind of disease.]

Merciful and pitiful Allah, Allah, Allah, Allah, Allah, Lord, Lord, Lord, Lord, Mahomet Ali.

Sheik Ahmed, keeper of the sepulchre of the prophet, on whom be the benediction of God and peace, thus declares, "On the night of Friday I remained reading the Koran at the right side of the sepulchre. I was absolutely alone. At midnight,

while I was in the full possession of all my senses, I heard a secret voice, and it appeared to me that the prophet, the magnificence and glory of ages, on whom be salvation, thus spoke, 'Oh, Sheik Ahmed! do you know the state in which I am, and what I suffer for my people?' These were his words: I was confounded with astonishment, but at length, coming to myself, I sprung upon my feet, and held myself in an attitude the most attentive. The voice proceeded in these terms, '*Seventy thousand* souls of my refractory people have passed to the other world—of these SEVEN alone have been found faithful! Oh, dishonour and excess of infamy! Oh, Sheik Ahmed, I have no longer courage to appear in the presence of God, I blush for the scored pages of the angel; people no longer respect their own parents; the rich take no care of the poor, they attend only to their pastime; their hearts are become black, they no longer read the Koran, but frequent amusing assemblies; they no more hold the Ulemah in esteem, they prefer retirement to scientific society; they do not fly from sin. Oh, Sheik Ahmed! I have already sent in time past two warnings, without any effect; I have no longer the face to present myself before God. Your people,' he says to me, 'do not, perhaps, dread my anger; they are obstinate in sin; I swear I will deal with them according to their deeds, I have destined them for the salvation of the world; my wrath will be equal to my mercy. I will send one more warning, and if they do not repent, you shall be responsible.' Oh, Sheik Ahmed, may you be always under the protection of the Most High; give this warning to my unfaithful people, to the end that they may be converted and fear God. Let them take heed how they break his commandments, and be ashamed, because their sins are evident, and a late repentance is no longer acceptable. The day of judgment is nigh at hand; let them amend their lives; let them lament, and let them not depart from this world without faith; let them not come with a black face, but let them repent of their sins before the gate of pardon be shut to them; that Mussulmans only in name, acting like the unfaithful, may not render themselves worthy of torments; that, in obedience to my warnings, they submit themselves to the ordinances of God, and not appear in his presence with a black face, because, as I said, the day of judgment is at hand. In the year 1220 few operations will be seen; in 1230 there will be a famine, for want of rain; in 1240, women will go forth through the market-places without the permission of their husbands, and some villages will be swallowed up; in 1250 some countries will be disjointed, and they shall see signs; in 1260 hail will fall as large as eggs, and destroy many places; in 1270 the sun will rise no more; in 1280 the Koran will disappear; and in the year 1300 will come the Antichrist. A green paper is plunged

in the sea, but there it will appear before the prophet. I swear by the Most High God that I do not tell a falsehood!"

He then placed in my hand, on the right side of the altar, this great warning, saying, "He that transcribes it, and causes it to pass from city to city, from village to village, and from house to house, shall be able to drink of my cup and be my neighbour; may my intercession be profitable for him, and may he enter pure with me under the shadow of the throne of the Most High. He that will not listen to this warning is no Mussulman, and my intercession is not for him; in case of sickness, it is not permitted to inform him of the state of his health, and on his account I have not the face to present myself before God. I utter no falsehood in this warning. When I become false may my face become black, in this and the other world. Those who cause not this to be read and published from city to city, from village to village, and from house to house, shall not see the face of God, says the Most High. He who, regarding not this warning, causes it not to be published, has no faith, and is not one of my chosen people."

REMARKS.

The Worm of Hell.—Among the signs of the approach of the day of judgment is the appearance of a monster which seems some modification of the beast in the Revelations. A composition of various animals, having a tail resembling a serpent, with which she will strike the face of all men, impressing on the foreheads of the good the word Mumen or Believer, and on the wicked the word Kafir or Infidel. Some suppose, however, that the worm against which this charm is to protect, is the tape-worm to which the Turks have a great horror.

Seven Hells.—The Mahomedan place of punishment is divided into seven stages or floors, for different classes of delinquents: the first called Gehennah, from the Hebrew, designed for men who, though they believe, are wicked. From this purgatory, however, after a certain period of punishment for their acts, they are released, and rewarded for their faith; the second, named Sadha, is for the Jews; the third, Al Hotamah, for Christians; the fourth, Al Sair, for the descendants of the wicked Saba or Sabæans; the fifth, Sakir, for Magicians or Persian Magi; the sixth, Al Jahim, for Idolaters; the last and lowest, Al Hawyat, for hypocrites. In order that none of these delinquents may escape, all the dead are obliged to pass over a bridge called Al Sirat, the path across which is finer than a hair and sharper than a sword. The good and faithful are enabled to go over, but the wicked and unbelievers inevitably fall at either side into the receptacle appointed for them, where they pray in vain for annihilation as a mercy; their only mitigation of punishment

will be to go to a cistern and drink scalding water to cool their tongues.

Eight Gates of Paradise.—Each of these gates leads to a different abode of happiness, graduated according to the deserts of the person: the first, or highest degree, for the prophets; the next for the doctors and teachers of the Word; the next for martyrs; the rest for different classes of the righteous, according to their deserts. At each gate beautiful youths meet the happy, and run before to apprise the Hur-al-Oyun of their arrival, while two attendant angels invest them with the pelisse of Paradise, and lead them to their expecting damsels.

Gabriel.—He was the angel who Mahomet said revealed the Koran to him, and caused it to sink into the heart of the believer. He appeared to the prophet in a human form, to accommodate himself to his imperfect earthly senses, and is acknowledged in the Koran as the angel that appeared to Zacharias, when he was foretold of the birth of John. He is called the angel of Revelations.

Damsels.—The place of future happiness is called Jannah, a garden corresponding to the Greek word Paradise, to which is annexed a variety of epithets, the most usual of which is Jannat-al-Nain, the garden of voluptuousness: its situation is above the seventh heaven, and next under the throne of God. To indicate the richness of the soil, they say it is of the finest wheat flour, musk, and saffron. The pleasures of it are entirely sensual. It is watered, says the Koran, with streams, all of which consist of some delightful beverage, in some places with unchangeable milk, some with clarified honey, and some with wine. But the highest delight is to be derived from the society of girls with black eyes, who are, for that reason, called Hur-al-Oyun, and by the Persians Hurani beshest, which we corrupt into Houri. Their persons are so pure, that they are not formed of clay, but musk, and their residence is in pavilions of hollow pearls, one of which is sixty miles long. Tradition has added many circumstances of these Hur-al-Oyun, but their existence is also recognized by the Koran, which declares that the faithful shall be received by those beautiful damsels, having complexions like rubies and pearls, whom no man or even genius had ever before caressed. The Koran adds another remarkable circumstance, "Virgines semper manent, et quoties vir cum illis cubat, toties virginitatis florem carpit."

Ramazan.—The month of fasting.

Namaz.—The Koran directs that there shall be certain periods devoted to prayer, five times each day within the twenty-four hours,—just before sunrise, just after noon, at four o'clock in the evening, after sunset, and just before daybreak. It is at these times the muezzin's voice is heard from the minarets all over the city, inviting the faithful: the distant sounds issuing

from on high, and mingling together in the air, give a solemnity to the call exceedingly impressive, much more so than bells.

Fatima.—Mahomet had many children, but they all died before him except Fatima, his favourite daughter, who afterwards married Ali, his successor. Many eulogies are passed on her by Mahomedan writers. They say, among men, there are numbers who are perfect, but among women but four,—Asi, the wife of Pharaoh; Mary, the mother of Jesus; Kodijah the wife, and Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet. Her charity in feeding the hungry was boundless, and exercised by depriving herself of food. The angel Gabriel bore despatches from Allah, to congratulate the prophet on such a daughter, and brought with him the 76th chapter of the Koran, in which those qualities of Fatima are recorded.

Sepulchre of the Prophet.—This is at Medina, but the great place to which pilgrims resort is the Al Kaba, and that called Beet Alla, "the House of God," which Mahomet himself appointed in the Koran as the great place of prayer for the faithful. God covenanted with Abraham and Ishmael that they should sweep and keep it clean. Among the sacred things are the white stone and the black stone: the first is the tomb of Ishmael, and is now a reservoir to receive the sacred rain from the roof of the Kaba, through a golden spout; the last fell from heaven, when Adam was driven from Paradise, and was deposited here for pilgrims to kiss, which every Moslem is engaged to do, if he have the means, once in his life.

Surre Emeer, or leader of the pilgrims, is a personage of high consideration. Whenever a body sets out for the tomb of the prophet, the leader is invested with great authority, and is paid implicit obedience.

Friday, or *Joohmah*, is the Turkish sabbath; they call it the most excellent day on which the sun rises, and say it will be the day of final judgment. Transgressions of the sabbath are ominously reproved, of which the Koran records an instance. In a city on the coast of the Red Sea, whenever the inhabitants strictly observed it, the fish came of themselves for their use out of the water; when they neglected it, none appeared.

Seventy Thousand.—This is a remarkable number with Mahomedans. Among the greater signs that will mark the approach of the day of judgment will be a war with the Greeks, and the taking of Constantinople by seventy thousand men, the descendants of Isaac, before whom the walls will fall down, like those of Jericho; while dividing the spoil, however, news will arrive that Antichrist is coming, so they will leave the spoil and retire. The number seven, with all its derivatives, is frequently used by Oriental writers, even in our Scriptures, as an indefinite expression.

Mussulmans.—In the original it is Moslem, which signifies resigned, a title the faithful take to themselves, and Europeans corrupt into Mussulman. The word Islam, which the prophet says is the only true religion acknowledged by God, and which all the prophets taught, signifies the same thing.

A Black Face.—A black or a white face are expressions to denote good or bad habits.

In the year 1220.—The Turks affirm that some of the events here mentioned came to pass, and about the periods predicted, and that the rest must follow. The Turkish era commenced A. D. 585, the year of the Hegeira, or flight of Mahomet. About the year 1810 bread was so scarce in Turkey, that they were obliged to mix horse-dung with the flour to make it go further; and the quantity now sold for eight paras, cost then one hundred and eighty. Women frequenting bazaars and markets became a great scandal. Earthquakes became quite common,—witness those of Zante, Aleppo, and other places; hail-stones have fallen as large and larger than eggs; nature became dislocated, and the whole Turkish empire was out of joint; and such is the Sultan's supposed tendency to Christianity, that the Bible is expected soon to supersede the Koran.

No. V.

Turkish Song sung at the Coffeehouse at the Palace-gate during the Ramazan.

Murghi deel teheshm shehbâzy	With the hawk of thy eyes
Nev shikar oldy.	Thou hast caught the bird of my heart:
Nâkshi bendi mooy zulfun.	The nosegay bound in thy hair
Muskkbar oldy.	Emits the perfume with which thy curls are bedewed.
Lebler zulal ghioturur melal.	The luscious balm of thy lips
Tchesni helâl.	Makes me long for sipping it, Oh my sweetheart!
Dgamum effendim.	To obtain this favour I have
Boo shey itchoon gherdanindan.	addressed a petition to thy neck.
Arsohal ettim.	My eyes, instead of tears,
Ghiozlerimden yash yérinè.	Did formerly strain blood;
Kanakar iken beer zéman.	But my friend declining to surrender,
Nazlanoob yarem kibi olmaz.	Those very tears have drained dry.

Odâ shimdi revan.
Sooz hedgraondem bédem.
Itmekdeder baghrum kébab.
Hatceré ghelmez hany.
Adgeb roozy heesab.
Nay hesabi ba sévab.
Mahi tabi mustetab.

Every breath of my flame in my delirium
Scorches my bowels.
O, cruel fair, do you never call to mind
The formidable doomsday?
(Answer) What doom is for the righteous?
Is it not better to meditate at the beautiful moonlight!

No. VI.

Firman published in June, 1824, at Constantinople, prohibiting the buying or selling of the Turkish Bible.

We are informed that the Bible, the Psalms of David, the New Testament, with the Acts of the Apostles, and, in fine, a pamphlet in the Persian language, have been lately printed in Europe, and three thousand impressions taken of each of those works. One or two hundred of the first, and five or six hundred of the second, have lately arrived at Constantinople. This innovation brings with it a crowd of inconveniences. It cannot but disturb and lead astray the people in the principles of their religion; and consequently the introduction of such works ought at all times to be prohibited in the empire.

Therefore the above-named books shall be sent back to Europe, and if others arrive, they shall be stopped at the custom-house, and a report of it shall be made to the government. These books must no longer be bought or sold in the book bazaars of the capital. If Mussulmans happen to purchase them in any other place, they shall be seized in the hands of those with whom they are found and cast into the fire. The will of the Sultan himself is opposed to any persons buying or procuring these books; and to this end, in conformity to an imperial hatta sheriff of his Highness, worthy successor of the califs, firmans have been despatched to the different Mussulman provinces, and the prohibition recommended to the noble kadis of Constantinople, Scutari, and Eyoub, in sending to each of them a circular of this commandment of his Highness.

Therefore you will employ all your care, and exert all your efforts, to cause to be executed the will of the Sultan. To this end you will issue the severest prohibitions against any Mussulman buying or selling these books, and you will snatch them from the hands of whomsoever they shall be found with, to cast them into the flames, and reduce them to ashes.

No. VII.

Anecdotes of the Turkish Revolution, and of the principal Persons concerned in it.

Hussein Pasha was born at Bender; his parents were in the lowest state of poverty, and he soon abandoned his home and came to Constantinople to seek his fortune. His first care was to proceed to a coffee-shop, and offer himself as taby or waiter, the usual resource of all who are destitute of any other means of support. This shop was frequented by the lowest dregs of the populace, with whom Hussein associated, and entering readily and with facility into all their irregularities, he soon became as one of themselves. At the age of sixteen he became joldasch of an orta, and felt proud and fierce at being a janissary. As, having a disposition most daring and turbulent, he soon acquired an ascendency over his companions, and was received as an officer, cará coloukgee. When he took up his abode in his barracks, he became the terror and annoyance of all his more grave and less enterprising companions; he did not hesitate to get drunk, quarrel, and then to fight with any one near him; there was no outrage committed by the fellows with whom he chose to associate in which he was not the ringleader. Always at the head of some desperate gang, he was looked on with terror and respect by the mob of the city; and though scarce above the age of a boy, he was a kind of popular leader of the rabble of his neighbourhood. He was always ready to draw his yatigan and support his companions whenever they were compromised in any quarrel, and so became the champion of every lawless fellow. He showed an early predilection for blood, never hesitating to cut and stab in a moment whoever excited his anger; and though he was not actually a professed robber, he entered openly the shops of the rayas, took without scruple whatever he wanted, promising to pay for it another time, which other time never came, nor did the baccal ever dare to remind him of it. He had, besides, various ways of extracting money from them under different pretences, and this he squandered profusely among his comrades, and acquired much popularity: such was the state of the janissary corps at this time, composed of all the rabble and refuse of society, and living in open and turbulent violation of law and justice. His reckless audacity soon drew on him the notice of his officers, the bashi cara-coloukgees or serjeant-majors of the regiment, who pushed him gradually forward, and in a short time he became the terror of the capital.

When it was determined to extirpate the corps of janissaries, it was the sagacious policy of the Sultan to select as his instruments some of the most daring and desperate among themselves,

and whose lawless conduct had acquired the confidence and respect of the rest, as persons most attached to their corps, and most determined to support it in all its impunities. As Hussein had at this time acquired the most atrocious character, he was fixed on as the most fitting instrument: he was intimately acquainted with all the plots, cabals, and projects of his companions, and an active and unflinching agent in promoting them; by the express desire, therefore, of the Sultan, he was raised to the rank of Yenitchery Aghassi, or generalissimo of the corps of janissaries.

The Sultan now sent for him, and had with him a personal interview. He sounded him on the subject of his project, and found Hussein no way attached to the system he had hitherto so strenuously upheld. He then at once explained to him his design, and Hussein warmly entered into it: from that time he kept up a constant and secret communication with him. They met always at night in the dark, and without witnesses. The Sultan reposed in him entire confidence, received Hussein's reports of the plans and projects of the janissaries, and gave him instructions how to act on every emergency that arose; and he found this turbulent and lawless leader his most attached and active instrument in destroying his own companions.

Hussein's first care was to dispose of the oustas or officers who were least agreeable to him. On some alleged pretext he caused nine of them to be arrested one morning, and when they were brought into his presence, he made the usual slight motion with his hand, and, without further process or inquiry, they were strangled before him. From this time he threw off the mask, and at once seized every man of influence whom he found active in the cabals of the corps: he however proceeded with more deliberation; he had them first examined in his house, extracted from them all they knew of plots and accomplices, and when he had obtained all the information that could be useful, they too were strangled without mercy. Many of those whose names he thus discovered he sounded; if they were disposed to aid his plans, he secured their co-operation with money, if not, they were put to death.

Having thus weeded from the corps the obnoxious officers, he turned his attention to the common men. Numerous complaints were daily made of the outrages and robberies committed on the unfortunate rayas, the truth of which Hussein was but too well acquainted with. Patrols were sent out, with strict orders to seize every person so offending, either seen by themselves or complained of by the sufferers. Lists of names were taken down, the perpetrators were everywhere searched for, seized during the night, and executed.

Having thus removed the most refractory and untractable from

among the officers and men, he now proposed to carry into effect the main object, by inducing the remainder to adopt the new discipline of the nizam geddite. His plan was to withdraw, by degrees, portions of his old comrades whom he could influence, and enrol them in regular corps. This particularly pleased the Sultan, and, to attach Hussein still more to him, and give him still more weight with his party, he made him a pasha of three tails, gave him as a residence the magnificent palace of the Duz Oglus, at Yeni Kui, on the Bosphorus; appointed him boghas nazir, or civil and military governor of the fortresses on the Black Sea, both in Europe and Asia, with unlimited power, together with the revenue of the Sangiakât of Houdavendiquier, in the pashalik of Brusa, and the command of a large army of observation, to watch and control the garrison of the fortresses, if they should give any opposition to their future proceedings. These troops occupied all the villages on both sides of the Bosphorus, from the sea of Marmora to the Black Sea. The command of them was confided to Derendeli Izet Mehmed Pasha, who, at the commencement of the Greek revolution, had the same situation, to watch the population of the Greek villages; to him was joined the Bey Cozou Hasan Pasha, formerly a janissary, and the creature of Hussein, on whom he knew he could place full confidence. These precautions were deemed absolutely necessary to restrain the soldiers of these fortresses, as it was by their means the former attempt of Selim III., to establish his new discipline, had been effectually defeated. Hasan executed his commission with ability. His spies were everywhere mixing, not only with the soldiers of the garrisons, but with the inhabitants of the villages, in coffee-houses, and wine-houses. Where any person became suspected he instantly disappeared, and was never heard of again; and the very secrecy and mystery with which the executions were conducted, struck such terror into the people, that many came forward and became themselves informers, merely to anticipate what they expected their associates would do to them.

When the Bosphorus was thus cared for, and all designs anticipated and provided for without, Hussein next turned his attention to things within the city. He held communications with every person of influence, both in the corps and out of it; was indefatigable in visiting, publicly and privately, all who were worth influencing; and, when he had by this means apparently gained over a majority, he, as a final consummation to his plans, took a precaution at once most efficacious and extraordinary.

Notwithstanding all his care, he still mistrusted the greater number of those he influenced; their prejudices and prepossessions in favour of the old system were so inveterate and invincible, that he thought it highly probable they would turn against him when things came to a final issue; he therefore

formed a secret corps to use on emergency, to compel or destroy those who wavered in the hour of trial; and to surprise those numerous corps of janissaries, who took care to guard all the streets, lanes, and alleys of the city and the suburbs, so as to have them completely under their control. Among the persons whom he engaged for the purpose was a man known for his ferocity and reckless audacity, called Delhi Mehemet Aga, a Delhi distinguished among Delhis; and then this man gained over a numerous party of the lowest rabble of the janissaries, by money profusely but properly distributed.

To him was added another of his cast and character, Kara Gehenem, called the "black infernal," for his unsparing and diabolical cruelty. Besides these and similar characters, many of the more respectable and honourable of the profession were engaged in the plans; among them Liman Aga Topgee Bashi, and with him the officers of the artillery at Tophana. The Bostangees, or guards of the seraglio garden, to the number of seven thousand men, were gained over by their bashi, Tartar Osman; he had been a janissary tartar, or common courier, sent with despatches, and, like most of the Turkish officers, possessed influence in proportion as he was raised from among his associates. The caiquegees, or boatmen, on the Bosphorus and harbour, were also a numerous and formidable body, strongly impregnated with the ancient prejudices of Turks: these were gained over or neutralized by the influence of Papoutchgee Mehemet, governor of the arsenal (on the Bosphorus).

To these measures of military activity, others of a more moral influence and peaceable tendency were added. The persons engaged in the plans had directions everywhere to recommend them in conversation, in coffee-houses and other places, that men's minds might be familiar with them, and their feelings of prejudice weakened at least by contemplating the probability of a thing, which they once supposed impossible. To this end Hussein, and all whom he had engaged, never failed to insist on the utility and necessity of such a reformation, to point out the advantages which the very inferior but disciplined Egyptians had over the undisciplined Turks in Greece, and the vast advantages of fusils of a similar size with bayonets screwed on them, over the imperfect and irregular topheks then in use. To support these representations, the press was resorted to, and Mahmood, who was supposed to have not only no taste, but even a prejudice against literature, now used it as a powerful engine to promote his plans. When Selim attempted the same reform, he engaged a Tchelebi Effendi, an old functionary, who had filled the highest offices of the state, to draw up a plan of the new reforms, with answers to all the objections that had or could be made to them. This very

curious document was circulated in MS. before the attempt of Selim; but when the janissaries prevailed, it was considered dangerous to have it, and it disappeared or was forgotten*. It was now, however, recorded in a more extensive publication, and more universally distributed. The Sultan caused a complete treatise to be drawn up on the former model, which was called the "Foundation of Victory." This was not confined to a MS. circulation, but printed at the printing press at Scutari, in one portable volume, and dispersed widely through the troops.

When everything was thus prepared, and every contingency provided for, it was resolved to make one more attempt to obtain the consent of the janissaries by persuasion, without having recourse to the measures of coercion in their power. To this end Hussein Pasha, and the grand Vizir Selim Mehmed Pasha, were provided with a hatta sheriff, or imperial order of the Sultan, and on the 29th of May, 1826, they presented themselves at the place of the janissaries with their commission. They were received with every mark of respect and distinction by a vast crowd of janissaries collected on the occasion, and when the Grand Vizir observed this favourable impression, he immediately availed himself of it. He told them he was come to lay before them the commands of their sovereign; that the plan he proposed was only a moderate and necessary reform, and not at all repugnant to the principles of the Koran; that they must revive and observe the military regulations hitherto much neglected, by which they were to be disciplined twice a-week, in exercising with their muskets in some public place, either in or out of the city. He then caused two fusils and two sabres to be brought of the new construction for their inspection, and an order that those only of a similar calibre and form should be used in future. He next explained the change required in their dress, and contrasted the convenience of the new with the incumbrance of the old; and having thus quietly and mildly entered into several particulars, without shocking suddenly their prejudices, he obtained from them an acquiescence to these points, and had it signed and regularly sealed with one hundred and seventy signatures. The terms proposed were as follow:—The dress of the janissary was to consist of a cap of red cloth larger than the ancient fez, with a blue silk tassel hanging from the apex; a jacket and waistcoat of fine cloth; a larger jacket, resembling a spencer, of a strong cloth called abâ, the manufacture of the country; trousers of the same abâ; a girdle of woollen, and a pair of red morocco leather shoes. They were to receive, as

* This was not to be had in MS. when I inquired after it, but it is found in a translation in the Appendix to a work on Wallachia, by Mr. Wilkinson, British Consul at Bucharest.

rations, one pound and a half of good meat, with rice, for a pilaff, half a pound of butter, and two large loaves each man per day; their pay was to be, from that period, 67½ piastres per three months for each common soldier.

There existed a great abuse among the corps, which this advanced but defined pay was intended to correct; this was the essames, a very ancient denomination of stipend which the janissaries received in so many aspers per day; this was always remaining over, and demanded by the parents of a deceased janissary, by persons who had been expelled or had quitted the corps, or by others to whom they had assigned it. The janissaries are paid on certain days in the seraglio, and at these times the tefterdar or treasurer found enormous sums demanded for the dead, for children in the cradle, and other persons on whom he never calculated, to an immense and indefinite amount, which fear of the janissaries compelled him not to refuse. These essames were to cease, and the proceeds to pass into the treasury. It was also determined that no situation in the corps should in future be bought or sold, and the aga of the janissaries was to be bound by a solemn oath neither to sell posts, extort money by military advances, exact the essames, or in any way make a profit of his situation, but be content with his annual salary, now fixed at two hundred thousand piastres per annum. It was finally agreed that twenty thousand men should be enrolled on these terms, who were to be exercised twice a week, and be ready to march when they were required.

The commissioners now returned to the Sultan with the news of their complete success; a report of it was instantly sent off to the Sheik-ul-Islam, or grand master, and to all the members of the council, civil and ecclesiastical. That there might be no retraction on their part, they were required to sanction all that was done. An act called hodgety sheriff was accordingly drawn up and signed by the two kadilaskers.

On the 4th of June a general council was called at the residence of the mufti, where Hussein, in his coarse, energetic way, made a violent speech, that a law should pass, making the acquiescence of the janissaries in the proposal of the commissioners, the fundamental law of the empire. In doing this, great care was observed to avoid any phrase that might alarm or shock the still inveterate prejudices of the great body of the janissaries. All mention of the nizam geddite, or "new regulations," which had been so fatal to the projects of Selim III., was carefully avoided, and the expression "military regulations" was adopted, as intended to mean only the formation of a corps of men who should be instructed in a few points of discipline; and as it was the wish of all to effect the intended reformation by degrees, and with as little bloodshed as possible, new and dif-

ferent names were given to everything connected with the former attempt, which it was hoped would remove all objections; and finally the corps was sanctified in the name of the Prophet, under the appellation of Tophenkli Askier, or "corps of musketeers." The act thus drawn up was remitted from the council, sanctioned with all the signatures of the ulemah; but when everything was supposed to be quietly accomplished, Hussein hastened in the night to the seraglio, threw himself at the feet of the Sultan, and informed him that it would be actually necessary to shed much blood, or abandon the proposed reformation.

The janissaries, when they began to think of the enormous amount of the money they had given up, in agreeing to surrender the peculation of their essames, became quite discontented; they no longer saw the large sums of money held up for them in the divan, and every man carrying off a load to his orta: and as this distribution was generally made when foreign ministers had an audience at the Porte, out of display and vanity in the government, they were indignant that they were deprived of this ostentatious exhibition of their wealth and consequence. The discontent on this subject now expanded in an alarming degree, first among the lowest ranks of the janissaries, and then spreading among the ulemah of the second grade, called mnderie softa, students of the law, and the commentators on the Koran. Many of the most prominent in displaying their discontent were immediately arrested, and some secretly put to death; and as the janissaries only became more insolent and ferocious on the next day, the remainder, to a considerable number, were publicly executed.

This unsparing severity was attended with an apparent good effect; a sudden calm succeeded to complaint and outrage, and nothing more was heard of the turbulent janissaries, no more than if the corps had already ceased to exist; but this death-like state only the more alarmed the sagacious Hussein: experience of their habits and feelings had convinced him that some deep and desperate stroke was meditating, so he immediately hastened to the Sultan and apprised him of his apprehensions. It was then resolved that the Grand Vizir, with Hussein, should immediately call together the ministry, and all who favoured the new order of things among the pashas, with the ulemah of distinction; and, as it was now no time for temporising, at once to decide whether the reformation should be abandoned, or everything risked to establish it. To this end Hussein presented himself at the Etmeidan, or "place of meat," on the 12th of June, and summoned all the corps of the janissaries to meet him there.

The janissaries, in great numbers, accepted the invitation, and the new regulations, with all their solemn sanctions, were proclaimed with great pomp and ceremony. The Pashas then re-

quired that the new exercise should be performed by them. In order to prepare for it, Mehmed Ali Pasha had sent from Egypt four officers expert in the European discipline, which had been introduced into his own army, to instruct the new-formed corps of the janissaries. The volunteers came forward with apparent readiness, and took the oath required of them. Solemn services of religion were performed by the mufti, assisted by the ulemah: the day passed off with perfect harmony and mutual satisfaction, and the janissaries dispersed to their own homes in the most orderly and submissive manner.

It was now supposed by the ministry, and by all persons who had considered the subject with anxiety, that the affair was entirely arranged. A solemn recognition of the new system was procured at the Etmeidan, that formidable place where the janissaries had hitherto been omnipotent, and where no opposition to their plans or prejudices had ever been attempted or thought of before. Even Hussein himself, who well knew the temper and disposition of his former associates, was satisfied with the appearance of things, and thought that all opposition was now given up as hopeless by those who were most implacable against the proposed innovations, and had been most daring in opposing them. A deep-rooted but cautiously-concealed hatred of them still existed among the great mass of the janissaries. They distrusted all the promises of Hussein, and they were excited to a deadly vengeance at the destruction of their oustas or officers, whom they considered as their protectors, so they determined, on the first favourable occasion that offered, to burst out into an irresistible torrent of reaction that would at once overwhelm their enemies.

On the 13th of June they assembled as usual to practise their new exercise; one of the Egyptian officers, who had ten recruits to instruct, was vexed at the real or affected awkwardness of a surly fellow among them, and struck him a blow to correct his inattention. The fellow immediately appealed to his comrades, and so worked upon their excitable feelings, that they swore to destroy every person who had been instruments in introducing the new system. Sixty, therefore, of the most implacable and determined, secretly assembled on the night of the 14th of June, armed with pistols, topheks, and yatigans, and, headed by the man who had been struck, marched out at midnight, and proceeded to attack the palace of the Yenitchery Aghassi: they found the gates closed, but they soon burst them open, and then rushed in and sacrificed on the spot every one they met with. They then demanded the chief of the janissaries, Delhi Mehmet Aga, to cut him to pieces, as they openly declared was their intention. They were informed that he was in the harem with his females, a place hitherto held sacred by every

Turk, however rude and brutal; but these men seemed now determined to hold nothing sacred; they burst open the doors of these hallowed chambers, and rushed in among the astonished and terrified women, who were suddenly roused from their beds, and ran about nearly in a state of nudity among those ferocious men. The chief was nowhere to be found; on the first alarm he had fled by a secret door and a ladder provided for such emergency, and so, by a few minutes, escaped the yatigans of the assassins.

The rumour of this insurrection having now gone abroad, the insurgents were joined by several others, who rushed from all points to assist them. They first plundered and pilfered everything valuable in the palace, violated many of the females, and then, having elected the man who was struck, as their leader, they proceeded, to the number of two thousand, to attack the residence of Negib Effendi, chief inspector of the powder magazine, and Basha Kapou Kihayassi, or agent of the Viceroy of Egypt, and a particular favourite of the Sultan, as one particularly active in introducing the new order of things. Their intention was to sacrifice him also, but fortunately he had retired to the country the day before; and not finding him, they pillaged and destroyed his residence from top to bottom, putting to death every one they found within who offered the least resistance. The party of the janissaries, now increased by considerable additions from all quarters, they rushed *en masse* on the palace of the Porte, where the Grand Vizir had his residence, assassinated all they met with, and soon made themselves masters of the treasures there deposited. They then retired to the Etmeidan, where they were received by a vast crowd, and their number was now estimated at thirty thousand, completely armed, supported by all their remaining oustas or officers, and by the Seymen Bashi, who breathed vengeance against all their opponents. He immediately ordered the kettles of the corps to be brought forward, upturned in the midst of the Etmeidan, and gave to the insurrection the character and consequence of a formal and general movement of the whole body. Meantime the chief of the janissaries, who had so narrowly escaped from his palace, made his way to that of the Grand Vizir at the Porte, but not finding him at home, he at once resolved to make his way to the Sultan, and report to him the state of things. When arrived at the palace of Top Kapou, where the Sultan was, he found Papoutchi Mehmed already there, as if by a miracle, with his troops. This unexpected force gave them courage; they immediately convoked, in the name of the Sultan, all the pashas of the capital and the Bosphorus, who had been appointed to act, if the crisis which they had provided against should arrive. The effects of these prudent measures of precaution were soon visible; they

all assembled speedily with their troops, the Grand Vizir Hussein soon joined them, and the Sultan saw himself surrounded by a body more than sufficient to destroy his adversaries.

The janissaries, however, were now confident of success; the whole effective force had solemnly assembled round their inverted kettles, in the hallowed spot of the Etmeidan, from whence they had, on all former occasions, dictated to their sovereign, who had now dared even to hesitate in complying with their demands. They therefore immediately appointed a deputation of their most influential persons to proceed to the Sultan with their peremptory and absolute order, which insisted on the abolition of all the proposed innovations, and the giving up to their vengeance all those who had advised or favoured them: and the deputation set out to execute their commission. It so happened that Kara Gehenem had just before arrived, and having notice of this deputation, immediately proceeded to meet it with a corps of flying horse-artillery; he met them in the streets as they were advancing, without the slightest suspicion of any hostile encounter, and instantly attacked them; the whole of this deputation, with a numerous body that accompanied it, were nearly destroyed on the spot, scarcely one having escaped. Immediately after, Liman Aga Topgee Bashi arrived with a numerous park of artillery, and the Sultan at once convoked an assembly of the ministers, the men of rank, and the military, who were now assembled at the seraglio, to deliberate, not on the means of persuading the janissaries to adopt the new regulations, but to extirpate the corps altogether. A reinforcement of ten field-pieces, with ammunition and artillerymen, were sent immediately to Kara Gehenem, who, in penetrating to the middle of the city with his small corps, had exposed himself to the imminent danger of being entirely cut off.

A last expedient was now resorted to, which at once decided the fate of the insurgents. The sangiak sheriff, or sacred standard of Mahomet, was brought forth with great pomp from its depository, to the enclosure of Sultan Achmet, surrounded by an immense concourse of people. Here the Sultan advanced, and, from the foot of the standard, he issued a solemn proclamation, detailing the faithless conduct of the janissaries, their solemn engagements under their hands and seals ten days before, and their perjured violation of them.

Meantime the janissaries, no whit dismayed by the fate of their first deputation, sent another, escorted by five thousand men, and headed by the Seymen Bashi and Yasigee Effendi, first secretary of their department. They announced their former terms, that no janissary would receive the new regulations, and that the body insisted that ten of those most instrumental in imposing the hateful innovations should be immediately delivered

up to them to be put to death. This deputation surrounded the seraglio, and expected that it would be immediately delivered up to them, with every man in it; but in consequence of the previous arrangements, it was now well guarded, and the insurgents found themselves shut out. In the meantime Kara Gehenem had returned from scouring the streets, and finding that the gate of the Babi Hummayoun was beset by a mass of the insurgents, he hastily gathered together his detachment, and by secret passes round the walls of the seraglio, he came to the garden-gate, which he entered with his men. He then proceeded through the courts inside to the great gate, followed by his field-pieces charged with grape-shot, and sternly demanded what the crowd he saw there wanted. When informed, he told them their insolent proposals were totally rejected, and ordered them instantly to disperse, or he would at once open on them a fire of grape-shot. Intimidated by this threat, they soon retired, but they were pursued by the detachment of Kara Gehenem, and put to a total rout. The fugitives regained their quarters at the Etmeidan, but a great number were battered down by the artillery which thundered after them in their retreat, and the streets were strewed with their bodies.

About three in the day, the numbers assembled round the sacred standard amounted to sixty thousand men; and the Sultan, now finding himself above all apprehension as to the final result, thought it right to endeavour to persuade the insurgents to lay down their arms and disperse. To this end more than one deputation was despatched to them, to state their hopeless opposition, and promise their lives to all who submitted; but the janissaries, as ignorant of what was going on outside their Etmeidan as if it was in another country, attributed these proposals to fear, and insolently rejected them, reiterating their former demands with menaces of vengeance. It was then resolved to resort to the last expedient, and reduce them with grape-shot. As a fit instrument for this purpose, Hussein, whose unpitying nature was already displayed, was appointed seraskier, or generalissimo, and the absolute command of the city and all its forces entrusted to him, to act against the insurgents. This commission was backed by a fetva, or ecclesiastical sentence of the mufti, and confirmed by a commission signed in haste by the Sultan on the spot. The seraskier advanced with his artillery against the Etmeidan, where the janissaries were crowded together in blind confidence on their numbers, and total ignorance of the state of their opponents. Indeed the gross neglect and imbecility of the janissaries on this trying occasion, when it might be expected that all the talent, knowledge, and energy of the body would be put forth, is a proof what worthless and inefficient soldiers they must have been, and how necessary was the pro-

posed changes. They made no disposition to occupy favourable places, to seize the city gates behind them, and keep their communication open with the country, but they quietly suffered themselves to be surrounded on all sides, and their retreat cut off in every quarter. It was said, indeed, that the great mass were still persuaded that no soldiers would dare to oppose them; and when the crisis actually arrived, that any body of troops which advanced to the Etmeidan would do so only to join their standards. Those who were in the middle of the crowd still spoke with a blind and insolent exultation, and made no movement, as if they thought none was necessary; but those who were nearest the street and observed the topgees with their artillery close on them, and ready to discharge their guns, made a sudden and simultaneous rush through the different avenues which led from the Etmeidan. The topgees seeing the dense mass approach, and feeling perhaps the yearnings which were supposed to be very general among the Turks for this corps, and those compunctions which every Mahomedan has in drawing his sword against his brethren of the same creed, were now observed to hesitate, and there was a probability that the blind security and confidence of the rabble in the sympathy of their brethren would be justified. It was the intention of the janissaries to seize the guns and turn them on their adversaries. The topgees drew back with their linstocks, and in a few minutes more their own artillery would have been thundering down the street after them. In this emergency Kara Gehenem rushed forward, and having no other means to ignite the powder, he discharged his pistol into the touch-hole of one of the pieces. The hands of the foremost janissaries were nearly on the muzzle of the gun when the discharge took place,—the carnage was terrible,—the street was crowded from side to side by a dense mass pushing one another on, and nearly the whole were in a moment struck down; the remainder hesitated, then turned back, and rushed again to the Etmeidan, where they were immediately followed by the artillery. They now dispersed in different directions, and finally took refuge in their kishlas or barracks.

And now Hussein, who for the first time, it is said, felt the smallest desire to show mercy to his former associates, sent a despatch to the Sultan to report the state of things, and take his further orders, before he proceeded to the last extremity. The Sultan immediately returned a hatta sheriff, directing him to surround the barracks, set fire to the buildings, and destroy with grape-shot all who had taken refuge within. The topgees, the bostangees, and the seymans were appointed for this service. The janissaries entrenched behind the walls of their barracks, and, animated by despair, made here a fierce resistance. Their implacable and relentless enemy, the "Dark Infernal," was

brought down by a shot through the thigh: while he lay weltering on the ground, struggling to rise, a janissary officer rushed at him with his carbine to shoot him through the head, but as he presented his piece, Kara Gehenem drew his pistol, as he lay on the ground, and shot him through the belly: he was then borne off by his companions, and yet lives in high favour with the Sultan. All mercy was now withdrawn,—no quarter was given,—the artillery continued to play on the blazing buildings; every one who attempted to escape was driven back, or massacred on the spot, and six thousand mangled and scorched bodies were next day found among the smoking ruins.

Every care had been taken to guard strongly the gates of the city, as well to cut off all communication with the janissaries without, as to prevent those within from escaping the vigilance of the police, who were everywhere on the alert to apprehend them. It was then the more horrible work of destruction began, because it was a massacre in cold blood; domiciliary visits were made in every place, and whenever a janissary was met in the streets, or found in a house, he was instantly put to death without pity or remorse, and his body cast into the kennel; and before the middle of the next day, besides the five thousand mangled carcasses lying among the burnt kishlas, there were as many more weltering in the streets of every part of the city, so as in some places to stop up the passage.

When the issue of this awful struggle was no longer doubtful, the Seraskier Hussein, with some of the leaders of the Sultan's party, quitted the Etmeidan and its environs floating with blood, and proceeded to the place of Sultan Achmet, where the Grand Vizir, with the ministry, and all the other functionaries were assembled round the sacred banner. Hussein had immediately thirty thousand men at his disposal, and he was appointed to the department of the Aga Kapoussi, to keep a strict guard over the police, and to sacrifice without pity every janissary he could find still alive. Izet Pasha had one thousand men to form patrols, to arrest and examine every suspicious person, to discover their abodes, and to execute the secret orders of the Grand Vizir. So rigidly did he do so, by his unpitying executions, that by next day a perfect tranquillity reigned in the city. Among the refinements of terror practised was one which Turks alone would think of: when a man was seized, he was ordered to take the body of some companion lying in the street and carry it down to the water; here, when he had done so, he himself was stabbed, and thrown after his comrade.

All the officers who were taken were brought up to Sultan Achmet, to be examined by the Grand Vizir himself, under the sacred banner. All those of the rank of tchorbagees, montewellis, or oustas, were taken into a neighbouring apartment,

where they were strangled, and their bodies then carried out and heaped together in the hippodrome. Such of the common janissaries as were here identified were sent to the Aga Kapoussi, to the unpitying Hussein, when they were strangled as soon as they arrived, and their bodies dragged down to the sea.

While Hussein was employed in this examination he discovered seventy Greeks disguised as janissaries, who all shared the fate of those they personated. As he closely examined the person of another, he recognised him as a Kara Coloukgee, who had been one of the early companions of his debaucheries and irregularities, when first enrolled in the janissary corps; he immediately addressed him as an old acquaintance, and then informed him that he would spare his life provided he could find out for him a Nakilgee Mustapha, a sergeant whom they both knew in the seventy-first orta. The man replied he had a certain knowledge of him and all his proceedings; that he was at that moment engaged in a project, with twenty-seven others, to take advantage of the present confusion; first, to enter the houses of the rich Armenians who inhabit the quarter of Yeni Kapou, Ypsomathia, Koum Kapou, and Alta Merner, parts of the city remote from the public places, and having murdered the peaceable inmates, to carry off the jewels and precious articles with which it was known these houses abounded. Among their intended victims was Casas Aretine, the head of the Mint, and chief jeweller to the Sultan. If their first attempt was successful, they were to be joined by a vast number of other desperadoes, and with them to enter the houses of the Turks and those of the Frank merchants of Galata, and having obtained in this way a large booty, to organize a band of assassins to kill the Grand Vizir, Seraskier, and other influential persons, and then establish a new system of government. Hopeless and desperate as this project was, Hussein had received certain information from others of its existence and intended immediate execution: he therefore at once confided in this accomplice, and despatched him instantly with a guard of sixty of his patrol to bring these twenty-seven conspirators before him, dead or alive. They were found, like the Cato-street conspirators, in the very act of commencing their operations. Six of them were killed in arresting them, and the remaining twenty-one, with their leader Nakilgee, were brought before the Seraskier, and were literally cut to pieces in his presence. The Kara Coloukgee who gave the information, and conducted the patrol, was not only spared, but liberally rewarded, and once more became the bosom companion of his early friend Hussein.

On the 17th of June, 1826, the Sultan ordered, by an imperial decree publicly read, that the sacred standard which had hitherto floated at the place of Sultan Achmet should be re-

moved to the court of the seraglio: it was borne with great pomp through the Baby Scadet, or gate of felicity, and planted before the Divan. Here a number of splendid tents for the different functionaries were pitched, as in a camp in time of war, and in these the public business was transacted by the ministers. This measure was resorted to, because it was intended as a mark of respect to the sacred standard, that the affairs of the nation should now be conducted under its shadow, and itself placed under the care of the Grand Vizir, who is its proper guardian and protector. But another, and perhaps the real reason was, that all the former offices had been burnt down by the Sublime Porte, when they were sacked in the first movement of the insurgents. In fact the government did not feel even yet secure, and this camp they thought a measure of indispensable precaution against the further machinations of the janissaries. It was also said that they recollected with apprehension the fate of Mustapha Bairactar, who was burnt alive in his house, and the ministers wished not to incur a similar danger in the present unsettled state of things.

While the government continued encamped here, the inquisition went on against the janissaries, and new victims were sacrificed every day, till the most sanguinary were glutted with blood, and at length it was thought advisable to stay the executions. There was an immense population in the capital who were considered as belonging to the corps of janissaries, but who were known to be peaceable citizens, pursuing their ordinary occupations, and taking no share in the turbulence of their companions, and no other crime could be objected to them than that their names appeared in the Great Book. In the first indiscriminating fury, many of these unfortunate persons had suffered; but to continue the cold-blooded slaughter against so many harmless citizens was too revolting even to the 'Dark Infernal.' As the determination was to extirpate the very name of this devoted corps, and not leave a man behind who bore it, it was now resolved not to kill but to banish the survivors, and to send out at the same time every useless or suspected person. A number of people had latterly left their residence in Asia, and had flocked to the capital to seek employment, the great body of the hummals or porters, the trombagees or firemen, the caiquegees or boatmen, the Albanians who attended the public baths, the common bakers, and sundry others, were of this description. These men were taken up, and sent by detachments of one hundred at a time, across to Scutari, and so to different towns in Asia, with strict orders to the pashas that they should never grant them a teskerai, or permit, again to return to the city. For six weeks these detachments were sent off every day, till at length, in this way, no less than ten thousand persons, including the

families of the exiles, were compelled to leave the city. It is supposed that about ten thousand persons in all were killed in the conflict, and that the suppression of the janissaries caused a loss of population to the city of twenty thousand individuals in about six weeks.

From this time the attention of the Sultan was directed uninterruptedly to the establishment of a new military corps, and secretly to the reform of the ulemah, which required it as much as the janissaries: the great obstacle to this was now removed, by the destruction or expulsion from the capital of these desperate and fanatic spirits that were always ready and excitable instruments in their hands; meantime he rewarded with emoluments and dignities all who had been instrumental in promoting his plans. The magnificent palace of the Aga Kapoussi was assigned to the Mufti and his successors as their abode, and the Eski Serai, or former palace of the sovereigns, was assigned to the present and future seraskiers.

Hussein, however, finding himself unequal to the task of disciplining the new troops, requested permission to exchange his situation with one more competent; Hussereff Mehmed Pasha was therefore appointed to discipline the troops, and Hussein resumed his former appointment of boghaz nazir, which he had before filled with such sagacity.

When the war broke out with the Russians, Hussein was despatched with a large detachment of seymans not yet disciplined, for which, in fact, there had been no time. The result was another proof of the utter imbecility of such soldiers: the courage and energy of Hussein could do nothing with them, even had he been seconded, which he was not, by the cordial co-operation of other pashas; the seeds of disaffection and distrust were extensively scattered through them; and the Russians, who had basely taken advantage of the disorganized state of Turkey, when one force was suppressed and not yet supplied by another, proved that these calculations were well founded. Notwithstanding his bold and able defence of Shumla, he was not able to prevent the Russians from passing the Balkan mountains. His services were not forgotten, however, and the Sultan rewarded him on his return with distinguished respect and power, decorated him with his own hands with a collar of diamonds, and confirmed him in all his former appointments. He was deeply engaged in laying and executing plans for the destruction of the ulemah, as for that of the janissaries, when the insurrection of Mustapha Pasha of Scroda called the attention of the Porte, and he was sent to Adrianople, and from thence to Roumelia. After the submission of the Pasha of Albania on one side, the revolt of the Pasha of Egypt on the other engaged all the care of the Turkish government; and Hussein, as the most able man in the empire, was sent against him; but notwithstanding his zeal for

the new order of things, his old janissary habits still adhered to him. He was out-manœuvred and twice beaten by Ibrahim Pasha, aided by the rebellious Dere Beys, who, traitors to their own sovereign, joined the invaders. Notwithstanding his second ill success he was kindly received by his master on his return, and finally appointed Pasha of Widin. Hussein is now a man past fifty; his person is as coarse as you would expect from the class of society whence he sprung, and his face is marked with the early effects of one of those prejudices which his master has contributed to remove,—it is seamed or pitted with the small-pox; his countenance, notwithstanding, particularly his eyes, mark him as a man of superior energy and intelligence: he has a certain twitching of the muscles, which they say is a nervous effect produced by opium, to which he has latterly addicted himself. Notwithstanding the forbidding aspect of the father, his son is remarkably handsome, and is one of the most beautiful Turkish boys I have seen, where all are comely.

Papoutchgee Mehmed Pasha was born at Trebisond, of parents in the lowest rank of life, and in great poverty; he came, like others, to the capital to seek his fortune, and was bound to a shoemaker, employed in making papoutches or slippers, and hence he retained the surname of Papoutchgee ever after; he gained the favour of his master by his good behaviour, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and left him his business and his shop, and he was enrolled as a janissary. Mehmed was of a good figure, and an active, enterprising man, so he availed himself of an opportunity of changing his sedentary employment for one to which he was better adapted. He obtained the post of chouash, or sergeant of the Admiralty, and here he soon ingratiated himself with all his superiors, by his untiring activity in executing their orders. His disposition was naturally good and humane, and he undertook to serve, as far as his limited means allowed, all poor persons in the department who required his aid; among the rest the widows and orphans, of whom he became the humble protector. His courtesy and kindness in this way procured him many friends, and he was raised to the rank of chouash-bashi of the corps. It is a remarkable proof how exceedingly illiterate the Turks are, that he was raised to this post without knowing how to read or write; nor did that prevent his utility, for he was found as efficient in restraining the turbulent as in assisting the distressed. The river police of the Admiralty was intrusted to his care, and those who were favourable to the plans against the janissaries looked upon him as an agent who would be likely to prove of essential service. He was soon after nominated wekil, or sub-lieutenant of the general police, and had Galata, Pera, Tatavola, and all the suburbs of the populous and rabble district of Casim Pasha placed under his inspection,

and then made tersanha kyayassi, or intendant of the correctional police of the Admiralty. In ordinary times, even this would not have been a post which could for a moment attract the attention of the Sultan, but he made everything subservient to the plans he had long meditated, and personally knew and made appointments of all the sub-agents even in the lowest situations. The janissaries were become, at this time, in a state of lawless insubordination, and it was the Kyayassi's charge to ingratiate himself with their influential men: for this object he feigned a concurrence in their plans, and distributed money, intrusted to him for that purpose by the Sultan, among the lower orders, till he gained over a large party, who looked upon him as a secret but most firm partisan of all their measures. Of all the janissaries the hummals or porters, and the caiquegees or boatmen, were the most numerous and most sanguinary; many of them had left Constantinople to join in the fatal expedition against Scio, and after gorging themselves with blood and plunder, had returned to the capital rich in slaves and booty: these, with all the vagabonds of other trades enrolled in the janissary corps, he collected round him. His situation, as intendant of police, gave him an opportunity of knowing their character and conduct, and when a man was a distinguished ruffian, and a fit object for public justice, he was sure to gain his confidence and attach him to his party. He exacted from each of these fellows separately a solemn oath to follow implicitly the directions he received from him, and not to divulge them, or the formation of his secret association; persuading them, at the same time, that his intention was to lead them to glory, and establish, on a foundation that could not be shaken, the authority and immunities of the janissaries; and they were all firmly persuaded that it was for that purpose, and for that alone, that they were enrolled by him.

When the crisis arrived, on the 15th of June, 1826, Papoutchgee, who had secret intelligence of everything, sent a trusty messenger to the Sultan, who was then at the winter palace of Top Kapou, at the seraglio point, to announce to him that his corps of vagabonds were all ready, and would come to his immediate assistance if required. The Sultan was well assured of the fidelity, sagacity, and determination of his agent, and therefore placed in him such implicit confidence that he immediately invited him across the harbour; and presently Papoutchgee with his band passed over, landed at the Yali Kiosk, and was admitted through the gate of the garden into the centre of the seraglio, and here the Sultan saw himself surrounded by an armed rabble of janissaries, of that very class who were his most bigoted, turbulent, and lawless opponents. Meantime he had summoned the ministry to attend him; and when they arrived, they were astonished and alarmed to see these desperate fellows, commanded by a simple individual, in possession of the heart of the

palace. Papoutchgee now addressed them, and for the first time explained to them his views; he told them he did not lead them there to enlarge the number of the desperate and bad subjects, but to point out to them the path of honour and distinction; to guard the sacred standard, and to be the support of their sovereign; that at the moment he spoke to them the corps of janissaries were no more, that their kishlas were destroyed along with themselves, and that he had led them here, as well to save them from that destruction which had overtaken their companions, as to give them an opportunity of seeing their sovereign and enjoying his good will to reward their services. To this he added promises of money, rank, places, and all other rewards, and told them they were now called on to renew the oath they had taken to him, by swearing the same fidelity to the Sultan. This address was received with acclamation; they immediately took the oath demanded of them, and cried out to be led under the shadow of the sacred banner. The great gate of Babi Houmayoun was immediately opened, and they marched out to the place of Sultan Achmet, where the standard was then floating. This is among the extraordinary features of this revolution: by the untutored sagacity of one humble and illiterate man, himself a janissary, was the most lawless and dangerous part of the corps not only rendered harmless, but engaged as firm supporters of the means used to exterminate their own body. When the design was accomplished, and the government firmly fixed on its new principle, Papoutchgee was liberally rewarded: besides the decoration of the chain and brilliants, he was appointed Nazir of Galata, governor-general, and civil and military director of the imperial chouashes of the marine; he was finally elevated to the rank of Capitan Pasha of the Ottoman fleet stationed at Buyukdere, a post which, though utterly ignorant before of naval affairs, he filled with great skill and prudence, but he did not live long to enjoy it; he soon after fell a victim to disease: he had long suffered severely from water in the chest, which in a short time proved fatal to him. He left behind him the character of being, though an entirely illiterate and uneducated man, the most upright and honest of all who had engaged in effecting the revolution.

Reschid Mehmed Pasha was born in Circassia, and brought up a slave to Constantinople: he was exposed in the public market and purchased by a boatman, who had plied on the Bosphorus, but had then retired to live in the neighbourhood of Eyoub.

Reschid, with the restless impatience which distinguishes his tribe, could not accommodate himself to the monotonous life of the boatman, but soon fled from his master's house, and presented him-

self at the palace of Kuchuk Hasan Pasha, then high admiral, and who, in consequence of the favour and indulgence of Sultan Selim, kept a splendid court. He was led by mere accident to the apartments of Hadgee Mustapha, secretary of the Admiralty, who asked him who he was and what he wanted; he replied, with great freedom, that he was then the slave of a poor boatman, but he had a strong desire to serve a man of some consequence, who would employ him in a manner more suitable to his abilities, and appreciate his services. His boldness and easy address pleased the secretary, who, having obtained from him his master's direction, sent for him. The boatman repaired to the palace, and was surprised to find his poor slave surrounded by men of rank and consequence, who were admiring his free and determined manners, and he was easily persuaded to part with a lad who seemed so little calculated for his quiet service. A bargain was made, and he received for him eight thousand five hundred piastres, or about 200*l.* sterling, at the then value of the piastres, and sent back his pengik, or certificate of the sale of a slave in Turkey. Reschid from this time was put under competent masters, and profited by his education.

Hussereff, who was at this time mouhourdar, or keeper of the signet to Hussein, saw every day some high qualities develope themselves in the young slave, and was fond of talking to him: he took the small-pox, and was attended by him with affection and regard, which Hussereff never forgot. In a short time Reschid again wished to change his master, and, at his own desire, was sold to Hadgee Schakir Aga Silihdar, or chief sword-bearer to the Admiral; and here he changed his pen for more congenial pursuits; he learned to ride, to throw the djerid, and acquired all the qualifications necessary for a page. Hussereff was now advanced from grade to grade, till he was made Pasha of Egypt, and in this situation he remembered the qualities of the young slave, who had rendered him many little attentions while he laboured under the small-pox; he therefore wrote to his agent at Constantinople to endeavour to procure for him, at any price, young Reschid. His master, the Silihdar, had been deprived of his employment, and he wished to conciliate the good-will of the Pasha of Egypt, so he sold him the slave at a high price.

Hussereff was delighted to see again his affectionate young friend; he immediately gave him his freedom and his pengik, and raised him from place to place. Hussereff was directed to cut off the head of the Pasha of Tokie, and he employed Reschid in this service; he acquitted himself so well that he was raised to the rank of Pasha of two tails, and then left Egypt. He was afterwards appointed governor of the fortress of Tulzin, near the Danube, and then Pasha of the important place of Widdin.

When the Greek revolution broke out he was removed from

Widdin, and was created Roumeli Valissi, Commandant-General of Roumelia. He then marched against the Greeks, and acted with Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt, both in the Morea and at Missolonghi. He finally took his share in the destruction of the janissaries, and was Grand Vizir in 1830.

Izet Mehmed Pasha was born at Derendé in Asia, and hence is called Derendely. He commenced his public career by being mouhourdar to one Hadgee Bekir Pasha, and, on his death, was recommended to Spartali Ibrahim Pasha, and became his kyhaya bey or lieutenant. Ibrahim was at the time governor of the Sangiakat of Brusa; but on the breaking out of the Greek revolution he was named Mouhafiz of the Bosphorus, and pitched his camp in the great meadow of Buyukdere, within the circle of the vast platanus. In this expedition he was accompanied by Izet, who conducted himself with such expertness that he was appointed his Capigee Bashi, or chamberlain. When Hussein was appointed Nazir Bogház he pitched upon Izet as a shrewd and active officer, and he was sent to occupy the plains of Beikos, the large meadows opposite Therapia, on the Asiatic coast, to watch over the turbulent in the fortresses on that side. Here he managed so entirely to the satisfaction of his employers, that he was appointed a Pasha of two tails, and fixed upon as an efficient and devoted agent in the plan of extirpating the janissaries. He was at this time very young; among the prominent features of his character was much personal vanity. The Sultan, with his usual sagacity, laid hold of him, admitted him to his presence, conferred on him splendid dresses, gave him a fine horse, set him upon his back, and admired his horsemanship. This appeal to 'the ruling passion!' bound Izet to the Sultan for ever. He was shortly after made Anadoli Valissi, or Governor-General of Asia, and raised to the dignity of Pasha of three tails, and soon after Capitan Pasha, though he had never been on board a ship, and was utterly ignorant of maritime affairs. This employment, however, was momentary, and merely with a view of secretly carrying on the Sultan's plan. When the hour arrived, Izet was found a most efficient instrument, and, as head of the active police, he contributed greatly to the total extirpation of the corps when the first encounter was over.

On the breaking out of the war with Russia he was appointed, by the Grand Vizir, to the command of the important fortress of Varna, which, however, he was obliged to surrender by capitulation; but his conduct was so approved of at Constantinople, that he was soon after appointed Grand Vizir, in the room of Selim Mehmed Pasha, his known enemy, who it was supposed, from personal pique, had left him without provision, money, or any other necessary to preserve the garrison. When the command devolved upon the new Vizir, he found it in a most deplorable

state of disorganization: it wanted every thing, was ignorant of every thing, and neglected every order sent to it. The only part of the army which showed any firmness was that of Halil Pasha, which had received some instruction in European discipline; the ignorance and inefficacy of the rest were now attributed to the new Vizir Izet, who was certainly much more capable of conducting a body of police in finding out janissaries. He was therefore soon deposed, and sent in exile to Radosto, in obscurity, with the simple title of Capigee Bashi.

HALIL RAFAAT PASHA was a Circassian slave, purchased at an early age by Hussereff Mehmed Pasha, who for thirty years was constantly engaged in buying up children in Georgia and Circassia, to educate them for different offices of the Turkish empire. Young Halil showed considerable talents; he acquired, in a short time, not only a facility in reading and writing Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, and in acquiring an extensive knowledge of Oriental history and literature, but he also made considerable progress in French and Italian, and cultivated a taste for drawing. These pursuits did not render him inattentive to the more active exercises, and he became the most expert horseman of his age; these qualifications, with a mild and amiable disposition, and a fine and handsome person, rendered him a great favourite with his patron, who, being childless, loved him as his own son. The Greek insurrection had now commenced; his patron, Hussereff, was at that time Capitan Pasha of the fleet, and he took with him Halil in his cruises as a volunteer: he accompanied him, among other expeditions, against Ipsera, and on this occasion showed an astonishing courage. He acquired such a knowledge of naval affairs that, at a very early age, and without any distinct employment, he was considered one of the most expert and intelligent persons in the Turkish fleet.

The efficacy of European discipline had at this time just begun to conquer the prejudices of the Turks, and Hussereff also endeavoured to introduce it into his fleet, particularly among the marines. Halil requested him to assign him ten men to practise on, who were sent to him. To instruct them more effectually he found out a Frenchman in the streets of Smyrna of the name of Gaillard, who had been a sergeant in the army of Buonaparte in Egypt, but was now wandering about the world. He discerned in this man the intelligence he wanted, and made him an offer which he gladly accepted, and with him he began to discipline his ten men after the European fashion. Halil was now appointed On Bashi, or corporal, which was his first rank. From this nucleus discipline soon spread through the fleet. When it arrived at Constantinople, after its cruise, the Sultan paid it a

visit of ceremony, and a display was reserved for him which he did not expect: Halil selected forty of the most expert marines, landed before the Sultan on the Koum Meidan, and put his troop in exercise before him; his youthful and engaging person, and the expertness of his soldiers, delighted the Sultan, who immediately appointed him Hasnadar Aga, or grand treasurer to the Admiral. From that time he rapidly rose in rank. He became an enthusiast in the new discipline, and was so successful, that the Sultan finally appointed him Pasha of three tails, the ultimate object of a Turk's ambition.

Whenever a new corps was formed, Halil mixed familiarly with them, heard their complaints, redressed their grievances, visited them when sick, and, when it was deemed necessary to inflict a punishment, he was the mediator with the Seraskier to have it remitted. This conduct made him the idol of the recruits, and they submitted to a discipline practised by him which they would have spurned at from any other. Halil carefully cultivated the acquaintance of every European who could instruct him, examined plans, and read European books on tactics.

When the janissaries were annihilated, and the war with Russia broke out, Halil bore a distinguished command; but the leaven of the old janissaries remained among the bulk of the troops, and counteracted all his plans of discipline. He foresaw and foretold what would be the event, and the confusion and anarchy which marred the cause of the Turks in the end justified his sagacity. The other prejudiced and bigoted Pashas would not second, but secretly counteracted all his efforts.

When Izet Mehmed Pasha was deprived of his place as vizir of the army, the Sultan appointed Halil Caimakan. Halil then returned to Constantinople, and the Sultan was so pleased with his services, that he sent him his ambassador to Russia, charged with various presents to the Emperor; among the rest were two hundred and forty talismans of rare virtue, containing sundry mysterious characters engraven on different stones, to be worn as bracelets and other ornaments about the person whom they were to protect from all evil. They were purchased at high prices from people in different parts of the empire who had experienced their efficacy. On his return from his embassy he was appointed Capitan Pasha of the Turkish fleet, and destined to marry the eldest daughter of the Sultan, in the nineteenth year of her age. Halil is considered the most accomplished and intelligent Turk of the present day.

The following is a list of the gifts or tribute which the Sultan sent by Halil to conciliate the Autocrat of Russia:—

"Bales of shawls from eight to ten thousand piasters each; ditto from three to five thousand; thirty-six snuff-boxes set with brilliants; forty-eight ditto with diamonds; gold enamelled ditto

of French and English manufacture; ditto watches; two large pearls perfectly spherical, mounted as ear-rings; collars in pearls and brilliants; chaplets called tespees, of all sizes; bracelets in pearls, diamonds, and Turkish filigree; rings of emerald and sapphire, with Turkish perouses, very rare; amber mouth-pieces for pipes, with nargillays and cherry-tree tubes from Anbeb; zarfs to support coffee cups, ornamented with brilliants; a quantity of wood of aloes and musk of the best perfume, from the imperial treasury; cases of odoriferous pastiles; India silks for harem dresses; ditto from Aleppo, and stuffs of gold and silver; selemies and petensi from Brusa and Bagdad; Brusa silks called hakers, rayed and flowered; Stamboul ischalessi worked in small flowers and vivid colours; muslin of India, with Istamboul borders of great price; confectionery of many kinds, which the Tchorbagee Bashi furnished to the harem of the seraglio; sofs and chalys of Angora goats' hair; embroidered sandals worn in baths; four hundred handkerchiefs worked in rare patterns; Zulfikiars or Damascus sabres, with pistols and carbines; bridles and saddles, with brilliants, for the emperor's horse; caftanleks loaded with gold; ladies' slippers embroidered; carpets from Smyrna; oil of roses from Moschat; cushions for sofas; splendid comb for the toilette of the empress: but the most highly-prized of all were two hundred and forty talismans of various materials, some of amber, having mystic engravings, portending the future peace of the two empires."

No. VIII.

Capitulations, or Articles of Peace, between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire, agreed upon and altered at different periods. The Capitulations commence in these words:—

"Sultan Mahmood—may he live for ever! Let everything be observed in conformity to these capitulations, and contrary thereto let nothing be done.

"The commands, under the sublime and lofty signet which imparts sublimity to every place, and under the imperial and noble cypher, whose glory is renowned throughout all the world, by the Emperor and Conqueror of the Earth, achieved with the assistance of the Omnipotent, and by the special grace of God, are these—

"We, who, by divine grace, assistance, will, and benevolence of God, now are king of kings of the world, the prince of emperors of every age, the dispenser of crowns to monarchs, and the cham-

pion, Sultan Mahmood, son of Sultan Ibrahim Khan, son of Sultan Ahmed Khan, son of Sultan Mahomet Khan, son of Sultan Murad Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Solyman Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan,—the most glorious among the princes professing the faith of Jesus, and the most conspicuous among the potentates of the nations of the Messiah, and the umpire of public differences that exist between Christian nations, clothed with the mantle of magnificence and majesty, Charles II. king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, whose end may it terminate in bliss, having sent an ambassador to the Sublime Porte in the time of our grandfather, Sultan Murad, whose tomb be ever resplendent, of glorious memory, and full of Divine mercy and pity, &c. He represented, in the reign of our grandfather, Sultan Mahmood Khan, whose tomb be ever resplendent, to our just and overshadowing Porte, his cordial esteem, &c. As such privileges, therefore, had been granted to the kings and sovereigns of France, Venice, and Poland, &c., so was the same true friendship granted to the said king; and it is permitted that his subjects and their interpreters might safely and securely come and trade in these our sacred dominions.

"The capitulations of our sublime dignity and our noble commands having been, through friendship, thus granted to the kings aforesaid, and the queen of the above-mentioned kingdom having heretofore also sent a noble personage with presents to this victorious Porte, which is the refuge and retreat of the kings of the world, and the asylum of the emperors of the universe, which gifts were graciously accepted; and she having earnestly implored the privilege in question, her entreaties were acceded to."

The capitulations similar to those granted to the French and Venetians were conceded at different times to the English, to Elizabeth, James I., Charles II., by Sir Sackville Crowe and Sir Thomas Bendish; Charles II., by the Earl of Winchelsea, and Sir Heneage Finch, Viscount Maidstone, Baron Fitzherbert, and finally by treaty of peace concluded at the Dardanelles, on the 19th of the Moon Zelkaide (5th Jan.) 1809, by the Hon. Robert Adair.

These capitulations include privileges, duties, authority, and protection of ambassadors and consuls, suits, debts, offerings, and wills. The extent of trade is defined, that their merchants, interpreters, brokers, and others connected with them, may come both by sea and land, and trade with perfect security in the sacred dominions, and load their ships with every kind of merchandize, arms and gunpowder excepted: that they are to pay customs only at one place, and be exempt from all molestation when paid; that they pay no scala duty, or for transportation of specie; that they shall pay three hundred aspers for anchorage,

and not an asper more; that they may remain in harbour and depart, buy provisions, and take in water, without let or molestation; that their ships be searched at the Castles and in the ports only; that they are to have all aid rendered them in storms, and all property plundered by the corsairs of Tunis, Barbary, Coron, or Modon restored; that the beglerbegs shall not permit it to be sold, but shall punish those who took it.

That the residents in Turkey shall be exempt from all tribute, whether married or single, merchant, or artizan; that if found to have been made slaves by any means, and demanded by the ambassador or consul, they shall be immediately released, and delivered up to them; that they shall not be subject to excise on animal food, nor prohibited from making wine in their own houses for their own use; that two shiploads of figs and raisins may be purchased at Smyrna, or any other Turkish port, in abundant years, on paying a duty of three per cent., for the use of his Britannic Majesty's kitchen.

That the ambassador shall be allowed to choose his own janissaries and dragomans, and that no dragoman shall be responsible for the contents of any letter or memorial with which he may be charged, and shall not be punished for any offence by a Turkish judge, or imprisoned without the knowledge of his ambassador or consul; that the ambassador or consul shall decide all suits between English subjects, without the intervention of Turkish authorities; and if an Englishman be calumniated and charged with injuring another, and false witnesses of the fact be provided before a Turkish cadi, he shall not give ear to them, but refer the matter to the English ambassador; that all suits between an English and Turkish subject, or case of homicide or other crime, shall not be heard before a Turkish tribunal, unless the ambassador, consul, or their dragoman be present; and all suits exceeding the value of four thousand aspers be heard at the Sublime Porte, and nowhere else, and no more than two per cent. charged by the chouash on the money received.

That if an English subject turn Mahomedan, and possess any property of another who is not so, it shall be taken from him, and restored by the ambassador to the owner; and no Englishman shall be held responsible for the flight or evasion of another, unless he had become surety for him; that the property of English subjects dying in Turkey shall not be seized or violently appropriated by any Turk, but secured and delivered up according to the will of the defunct; and if he die intestate, it shall be delivered up to the ambassador; and if none be resident, received and kept till claimed by the friends of the party; that the same law shall apply to the dragoman, if he be English; or if he be a subject of the Porte, the property shall be distributed among his heirs, without the interference of fiscal officers.

Articles added by the Treaty of the Dardanelles.

That the berat, or certificate of protection to dragomans shall be, as usual, granted to them, but not to tradesmen, bankers, shopkeepers, or manufacturers, unless they exercise the office of interpreter; that no subject of the Sublime Porte shall be named English consul; that no patents of protection shall be granted to dependents or merchants who are subjects of the Sublime Porte, or passport delivered to them by ambassador or consul, without having obtained previous permission; that the ancient regulation which prevented the ships of war of other powers from entering the Dardanelles, or Canal of Constantinople to the Black Sea, shall be observed in future.

The capitulations conclude in these words:—"We do hereby promise and swear by the One Omnipotent God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and of all beings, that we will permit nothing to be done or transacted contrary to the tenour of the articles and stipulation heretofore made, and these imperial capitulations. Accordingly, every one is to yield implicit faith and obedience to this our imperial signet affixed in the middle of the Moon Gamaziel, in the year 1086 (A. D. 1675)."

No. IX.

Firman for Emancipating Slaves.

To the Judges, Naibs, Muzzelims, Ayans, and other Governors of the Towns and Villages of the Turkish Empire.

"When seditious subjects revolted, and declared themselves rebels against their sovereign lord and benefactor, the chief of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, a sentence in accordance with the sacred law was issued by the Mufti against the rebels, so that those who persevered in their treason and in their insolent sedition should be punished. The Turkish army which marched against them punished and chastised them as long as they persisted in their rebellion, and their wives and children were made prisoners and reduced to slavery. But, always magnificent and merciful to those who demand pardon and protection, our sovereign, although much irritated, is disposed, from feelings of commiseration, to grant their pardon, in order to secure their tranquillity, and restore them to their homes. Therefore, considering that among the slaves there are some who, after having been purchased and sold, have been disposed to receive the lights of Mahomet, and have had the happiness to be admitted into the

true faith—that others have remained in the Christian belief, and have expressed a desire to return home, and by their continual attempts to escape can be of no utility to their masters; considering, moreover, that now peace and order reign under the protecting shadow of his imperial majesty, who tolerates no fraud nor violence, the said slaves, who have served a long time, looking continually towards their homes, have remained stedfast in their faith, and are only kept in slavery by force; that if they gained their freedom and were sent home, the empire will gain in population, and their masters who freed them will have enduring claims upon their gratitude. Therefore, you will take care to cause to be published, and to explain the present decree, and see that it be executed. That is to say, you will cause to be freed all the male and female slaves who have not embraced the Mahomedan religion. In order to do so, you will cause to appear before you all the slaves and their masters, and give them to understand that they do themselves little credit, and deprive themselves of public esteem, by compelling slaves who refuse to renounce their faith to serve them by force. You will observe, especially, that this decree does not extend to those who have embraced Islamism. Watch carefully that these do not escape, and punish them according to law if they make the attempt.

"As to those who have remained Christians you will cause them to be freed—you will furnish them with the money necessary to return to their homes; and you will cause to be transmitted to the Porte a list of all who have been liberated by this present decree.

No. X.

A Catalogue of all the Armenian Books published at the Patriarchal Press, Constantinople, from its establishment in 1697 *to* 1823.

Ecclesiastical Calendar.
Sacred Canons of the Armenian Church.
A Psalter, in large characters.
Ditto ditto.
Ditto, in small characters.
Ditto, in gilt leaves.
Narec, or Book of Prayer, by St Gregory of Narec, a convent in Armenia.
Ditto, in small characters.
A Homily on the Sacred Cross.
An Epistolary, or Mode of Letter Writing.

Acts of the Apostles, on fine paper.
Ditto, on coarse paper.
Romance of the Seven Wise Men.
St. Cyprian.
A Sermon on the Passion of Christ.
A Ritual on the Mode of Administering the Sacraments.
An Armenian Alphabet.
A Spelling-Book.
A Book of Hymns.
Ditto, on Turkish paper.
A Psalter, in Turkish and Armenian characters.
Ditto, on coarse paper.
A Panegyric on the Angels.
Ditto on the Patriarchal Church of Etchmiazin.
A Collection of Sacred Tracts.
A Treatise on Precious Stones.
Little Narec, a Book of Prayers and Sermons.
A Catechism in Turkish in Armenian characters.
On the Women who brought Unguents to anoint Christ.
Divine Offices, on coarse paper.
Ditto, on gilt.
Ditto, on fine paper.
Ditto, on gilt.
Catechism in Armenian.
Romance of the City of Brass.
Prayers of St. Ephraim.
A Book on Good Behaviour.
The Proverbs of Solomon, in Turkish and Armenian.
The New Testament at large.
Father Masidoz.
Book of Hymns at large.
Divine Offices, at large.
Spiritual Armour.
Extracts from the Old and New Testaments.
Book of Prayers.
Life of Saint Marianne.
Ditto of Saint Erepsima.
Ditto of St. Gregory the Illuminator, in Turkish and Armenian.
Armenian Grammar, by Mesrop.
Sacred Songs, by Balthossar.
Ditto, by Caba Sakal, or Great Beard.
A Book of Prayer necessary for all Classes.
Liturgy of the Armenian Church.

No. XI.

Translation of a Berat by Hatta Sherif, delivered to the Patriarch or Prelate of the Armenian Catholics, and bearing the date of the 5th January, 1831.

The Catholics who form a part of the Rayas of my Sublime Porte and of my everlasting empire had no patriarch, and they were from ancient times under the authority of the Greek and Armenian patriarchs, and under that of their sub-delegates.

Seeing, however, that it has been proved that, though the Catholics were under the authority of the Greek and Armenian prelates or patriarchs, they could not always fulfil completely the duties of their religion, because that their religious precepts did not agree with those of the Greeks and Armenians, and they were obliged to frequent the churches of the Franks, to exercise the religious functions, and to obtain the nuptial benediction from others than those of their own nation, which was as humiliating as grievous to them.

Seeing that the Catholics are of the number of these Rayas of my Sublime Porte which were found for some ages under my protection, royal and full of justice, it is the duty of sovereignty, a necessary consequence of paternal cares, to give to the Rayas some powers, still more as the means of assuring their well-being and their repose, in freeing the Catholics from this state of humiliation and constraint, by enabling them to practise their religion in churches destined for them, without going to those of the Franks.

In consequence, the prelacy for all the persons who profess the Catholic religion, and are found either at Constantinople or in other parts of my empire, has been conferred on the best of Christians, the bearer of the present imperial diploma, Don-Agob, son of Emmanuel—may his end be happy! whom the Catholics themselves have elected the 21st of Redgeb, 1246 (5th January, 1831), by power of a hatta sherif, as Raya of my Sublime Porte, son, grandson, and great-grandson of the Rayas, provided that he casts into the public treasury fifty thousand aspers, as a gratuity to the king's treasure, and that he pays annually to the treasury the fixed sum of thirty-eight thousand aspers.

I have granted, then, the imperial berat, and I enjoin what follows:—

The Catholics, whether they belong to an upper class, or that they appertain to a lower, ought henceforth to acknowledge for their prelate Don-Agob—adhere in spirituals to what he shall tell them, and no one shall molest him in the exercise of his functions.

When the prelate shall wish to suspend, conformably to ecclesiastical laws, priests from their functions for having merited it, and shall invest others with them who are worthy of it, no one must meddle in it; but, without a representation on his part, it will not be lawful for him to suspend a priest, or to confer any dignity on him.

The priest may not marry the infidel (kafir), if the prelate shall have taken no part in his marriage, and not permitted it, these marriages not being in their jurisdiction.

If a Raya woman leave her husband, or else if a Raya wish to divorce his wife, or to contract marriage, no one shall have power to intervene, if it be not the priest delegated by the prelate.

The prelate alone shall take cognizance of matrimonial questions and divorces. He will judge also the differences which may arise between two Rayas, if the parties consent to it; and in this case persons assuming arbitrary power must not hinder him from reconciling them, or administering the oath in the church, according to the ecclesiastical laws, nor exact from him any pecuniary fine.

When the prelate shall wish to collect, on account of the fisc, the succession of the priests, or of the monks who have died, without leaving an heir, neither those employed by the fisc nor the cassem, nor the agents of arbitrary power, may hinder him from doing it.

As to the legacies that these priests, or these monks, or the other Catholic Rayas, may leave to the prelate, for the benefit of the poor of their church, from motives of religion, they will be admissible, and examined by the laws.

The priests who shall be charged on the part of the prelate with the collection of the fixed revenues and the alms, shall not be molested by any one in the places where they shall appear for this purpose, and no one shall put any hindrance to it.

No one shall meddle with the staff of office that the prelate shall hold, nor with his equipment, nor with his people, nor their vestments, no more than with the transporting into his house, for his own supply, either the produce of vineyards, or the honey, butter, or oil, or any thing else which shall be given to him under the title of alms.

Ten men belonging to the prelate, among those whom he shall send on affairs to the Porte, or amongst those who shall be in his own service, shall be exempt from the haratch avariz and tekialif.

The processes that wicked men shall institute shall be judged no where but at the Arz-dassy (Chamber of Audience).

The archbishop shall take possession of the vineyards, gardens, or other goods or lands which shall be left to the poor of the

churches, and he shall administer these legacies without any person interfering in it.

If the Catholic priests shall run from quarter to quarter, without the permission of the prelate, and shall cause disorders there, the prelate shall hinder them, and punish them.

The Greek and Armenian prelates or patriarchs, their subdelegates, or any one else, shall not molest in any manner the Catholics, be it spiritually or temporally.

Here is what all must know, in giving credit to the noble cypher of the present imperial diploma, issued this 29th day of the month Redgeb, in the year 1246.

No. XII.

Extracts from a Work written by a converted Jewish Rabbin, and published in Greek at Yassi.

[The work is entitled "A Confutation of the Religion of the Jews, and of their Customs, with Proofs from the SS. of the Old and New Testaments." By Neophytus, a Greek Monk, formerly a Jewish Rabbin. Written originally in the Moldavian language, and printed in the year 1803; then translated into modern Greek, and printed at Yassi in 1818.]

The first chapter is entitled μυστηριοι κεκρυμμενοι νυν δε αποκεκαλυμμένοι. The subject is the blood which the Jews take from Christians, and the uses to which they apply it.

It states, that the fact of the Jews putting Christians to death and taking their blood has been often denounced to the world, but that he has never seen written in any book either why they did it or the uses to which they applied it.

The thing is a great mystery even among the Jews themselves, and it is not known to all, but confined particularly to certain Rabbins, χαχαμιδες, scribes and pharisees, who are called by them Chasidim, and who keep it secret with the greatest care. The author having been himself a rabbin, and initiated into all their secrets, determined to expose them, though he would thereby expose himself to the revenge of his former fellow-countrymen, who would take his life if it were in their power. It is said that the Jews of Moldavia, having heard that such a work was being printed, obtained from Morousi, the then Hospodar of Moldavia, the suppression of the work, for a large sum of money. The edition, in consequence, was not circulated, but a copy was procured, which, being translated into modern Greek, was published in 1818.

Three reasons are assigned for the horrid practice of Jews

murdering Christians. The first is, the excessive hatred they bear them as followers of Christ, supposing that, in putting them to death, they do God a service; the second is, the many superstitious practices to which they apply the blood; and third, because they are still in doubt whether Jesus, the Son of Mary, might not have been the true Messiah; and if this should happen to be the case, that, being sprinkled with the blood of a Christian, they might thus be saved.

With respect to the first reason, the Jews call the Christian church Toomah, that is—defiled, and the priests call it Mœcak, that is—a jakes; a Christian they call Goc—impious; a Christian male child, Skeyitz—a creeping worm; and a female, Siskela—a female creeping worm; priests and monks they term Galech—sacrificers to idols.

For the two days when the Greek church celebrates the birth of Christ and the Epiphany, the Jews put away their books, and do not open them during the festivals, but play at cards all night, uttering at the same time all sorts of blasphemies against Christ, the Virgin Mary, and all the saints.

Jewish children, before they are taught their alphabet, are instructed to sing, whenever they pass by a Christian church, these words, "Saketz tesadgine tesavenike cheirim ein," which means, "Most defiled of things, most impure of impure things, be thou accursed." And it is written in the Talmud, that if a Jew has passed a Christian church, and neglected to blaspheme, though he be ten paces from it, he must return and utter the imprecation; but if he remember it after he has proceeded farther, it will be sufficient to utter it where he stands.

When a Jew sees a Christian corpse carried to burial he is under an obligation to say "Sagoud khad temoukhor trye," that is, "To-day I have seen one dead infidel, to-morrow may I see two." These sayings the smallest child must learn.

When a Christian visits a Jew, the latter must say to himself at his departure, "May every disease, and every distress, and all the evil dreams that I, or any of my house have dreamed, be upon the head of this Christian who has just left my roof."

With respect to the second reason, the Jews believe that the curse invoked upon the nation by their forefathers, in the presence of Pilate, "his blood be upon us and our children," remains still upon the Jews, and that four times in the year, viz., at the solstices and equinoxes, a little blood settles from the air upon their eatables, those at least which are not dressed, as milk, butter, pot-herbs, cabbages, cucumbers, &c., which blood is by themselves called Tekepha. If any Jew eat of these articles he dies, but a Christian receives no injury. The rabbins, therefore, have found out a remedy for this evil, and prevent the blood from falling, by anointing an iron fork with the blood of a Christian

and placing it upon the eatables. The Jewish Calendar sets down the moment when the blood is to fall, and the χαχαμι, or priest, goes about from house to house an hour before, and gives notice of it.

In Jewish marriages it is the custom for the bride and bridegroom to fast from morning till evening, when the ceremony takes place; after which the rabbin gives to the married couple a hard egg, with a little dust sprinkled on it; the dust is the ashes of a cloth dipped in Christian blood, and burnt in the fire. While they are eating this, the rabbin privately utters some incantations, importing that they may find favour with Christians, and so be able to deceive and despoil them, and eat of the sweat of their brow.

With respect to the third reason, their rabbins and learned men at the present day, like their forefathers, reading the prophecies and the Old Testament, cannot divest themselves of doubts and fears that Jesus, whom they crucified, is the true Messiah; and that, blinding themselves against the proof of this great truth, they are led into the greater blindness and wickedness of imagining that, should this possibly be the case, the blood of a Christian is an efficacious specific for their salvation, in the various instances in which they employ it.

At the circumcision of a child, the χαχαμιδες mix in a cup of wine a drop of Christian blood, and dipping their little finger into the cup, place it twice in the mouth of the child, saying, "And I say unto thee in thy blood, Live," Ezek. xvi. 6. The rabbins doubt whether the prophecy spoke of the blood of the infant, or of Christ; they therefore take both the blood of the child, and of some Christian put to death by tortures as Christ was, thinking that, whichsoever was the sense of the prophet, they thus secure the child's salvation by the use of both.

On the 9th of July, when they make their lamentation for Jerusalem, sitting on the ground they rub their forehead with some of the dust before-mentioned, viz., the cloth dipped in Christian blood and burnt in the fire, and eat hard-boiled eggs sprinkled with it, which food they call "scida amaphscikes."

When they prepare the unleavened bread for their Passover, which they do with many ceremonies indicating their hatred to Christianity, they make one loaf, in which they mix a portion of this dust; and on the evening when the Passover commences every Jew is obliged to eat a morsel, about the size of an olive, of this loaf which contains Christian blood. This unleavened bread is called "Ephecœmon."

Whenever a Jew dies, the hahan, or priest, takes the white of an egg, which, having mixed with a little Christian blood, he sprinkles upon the heart of the corpse, saying—"I shall sprinkle

clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your filthiness."—Ezek. xxxvi. 25.

At the Feast of Purim, which they celebrate on the 14th of February, in commemoration of Mordecai and Esther, who delivered the Jewish nation out of the hands of Haaman, they put to death many Christians, instead of Haaman, in their synagogues, and the same day they blaspheme Christ. When they have made this sacrifice, the rabbins make triangular cakes, in which they mix up some of the blood of the victims, and these cakes are distributed among all the Jews, who send them as presents to their friends of other persuasions, even to Christians. The distribution of these cakes is called "Mestoiach Mounés." By these practices are fulfilled, says the author, the prophecies Jer. ii. 34; Ezek. xxxiii. 25.

On this evening all the Jews are, as it were, beside themselves, and steal many Christian children, whom they shut up and conceal until the Passover, which follows soon after the Purim, in order that they may have Christian blood to mix with their unleavened bread, as well as Christian children to torment and put to death in the same manner as Christ suffered. And for this latter purpose they prepare young children, both because they can easily torment them, and because Christ lived and died unmourned.

The reason why they make triangular cakes at the Purim is to ridicule Christians who believe in the Trinity.

"All these things prove," says the author, "that in the Jews is fulfilled the prophecy Is. vi. 9—10."

"Thus," says he, "have I revealed the unwritten mystery of the Jews; for this their practice of putting Christians to death, and taking their blood, is not written in any book, but is only delivered by word of mouth by fathers and rabbins to their children, who adjure them by the most awful curses, that, when they are married, they should not reveal it to their young and simple children, nor to Christians, even should they be subjected to the greatest danger and torments. Even as it was revealed to me, I testify it, in the fear of God.

"And in truth I have been in great peril, and am still, for my revelation of this secret. I exclaim, however, with the holy Apostle Paul, saying, 'Who shall separate me from the love of Christ—shall tribulation,' or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or the sword?' or any sort of punishment? No circumstances shall do it, for my hope is the Father, my refuge the Son, my defence the Holy Spirit.—Holy Trinity, glory be to thee!"

No. XIII.

List of Turkish Books printed in the Printing Office at Scutari, opposite to Constantinople, since the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamed, to July, 1822.

1. *Vaan-Kuly*, a large dictionary in folio, of Arabic words, explained in Turkish. Two vols.
2. *Burhaan-i-Caty*, a ditto ditto of Persian words, explained into Turkish. One vol.
3. *Galatat-i-meshhuray*, a Vocabulary, explaining the true etymology of certain words used in a different sense in conversation.
4. *Lugat-i-Leghè*, a Dictionary, Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, a modern work of much use. One vol.
5. *Berghoy-Mitny*, a law book in Arabic, translated into Turkish.
6. *Berghoy-Sherhy*, a Commentary on ditto.
7. *Amentu-Sherhy*, Commentary on the Turkish Creed.
8. *Tarih-i-Subhy*, History of the Ottoman Empire, by Subhy.
9. *Tarih-i-Izzy*, History of ditto, by Izzy.
10. *Tarih-i-Vassif*, History of ditto, by Vassif.
11. *Tarih-i-Atlas*, a Geographical Grammar, by Kiatib Tchelebi.
12. *Kiafie Zinhy Zaday*, a Grammar, explaining the formation and derivation of Arabic verbs.
13. *Izhar*, by ditto ditto, Arabic Syntax.
14. *Izhar Sherhy*, Commentary on ditto ditto.
15. *Giamy hashiesi*, by Muharem Effendi, Observations on ditto ditto.
16. *Selkuty Alis Mutavvel*, a Treatise on Logic.
17. *Ghelen Cely*, a ditto.
18. *Ilm-i-hendese mezmuasi*, a Compilation of Geometrical Rules.
19. *Ussul Ilm-i-hendese*, Elements of Geometry.
20. *Iklidis*, Euclides in Turkish.
21. *Imtihan.an Ilmi hendese*, Experimental Geometry.
22. *Deria kitabi*, a Tour by Sea.
23. *Sù rissalesi*, a Treatise on Hydraulics, by Ashir Efendi.
24. *Ligoratma*, Logarithms.
25. *Tuhfei Vehby*, Vocabulary, Turkish and Persian, by Vehby.
26. *Hayati Effendi*, Translation of Vehby's Vocabulary into Arabic.
27. *Nuhbe-i-Lugat*, a Collection of Choice Words in Arabic.
28. *Sebhay sibian*, a Vocabulary, Turkish, Persian, and Arabic, author unknown.
29. *Avamil Gedid*, a new Treatise on Arabic Syntax.
30. *Kamus Tergiumesi*, Dictionary translated from the Arabic into Turkish, in two large folio volumes.
31. *Rishhat Tergiumesi*, the Life of some Saints.

32. *Teshrih-fi-Tibb*, Treatise on Anatomy, with figures.
33. *Sarf Giumlesi*, Arabic Grammar, in extenso.
34. *Nahf Giumlesi*, Treatise on Arabic Syntax, complete.
35. *Behgetul-Fetva*, a Collection of Fetvaas in Turkish, a law book.
36. *Sherh-i-Hahaty Gedid*, a new edition of Hayati's Vocabulary, in Turkish and Arabic.
37. Tableau de Nouveaux Réglemens, par Mahmood.
38. Tarif Douans.
39. Diatribe de l'Ingineur.

No. XIV.

Climate of Constantinople.

I kept an Account of the Weather for Three Years, and the following Table is the result of the average. The scale of the Thermometer was Farenheit's, and the Degrees marked at midday in the shade:—

Months.	Variation of Thermometer.	Days cloudy.	Hazy or misty.	Clear or Sunshine.	Fog.	Frost or hoar frost.	Rain.	Snow or Sleet.	Wind S., S.W., or S.E.	N., N.W., or N.E.	Calm.	Breezy or Gusty.	Strong Gales.
January.	28 to 62	15	3	9	4	6	2	2	14	17	13	10	8
February	33 to 60	15	4	12	1	6	11	5	7	21	8	12	8
March ..	40 to 64	12	2	14	0	2	6	3	10	21	12	16	3
April ...	45 to 76	15	2	13	0	0	3	0	9	21	12	13	5
May	52 to 77	5	2	24	0	0	5	0	10	21	18	12	0
June....	76 to 84	4	0	26	0	0	2	0	10	20	7	16	7
July....	78 to 86	2	1	27	0	0	0	0	9	22	12	18	1
August .	75 to 83	2	0	29	0	0	0	0	8	23	3	21	7
Septemb.	71 to 80	5	4	21	0	0	9	0	15	15	8	10	12
October .	65 to 72	10	5	6	0	0	7	0	7	24	14	9	8
Novemb.	41 to 60	15	1	10	5	0	6	0	6	24	18	10	2
December	28 to 61	20	5	4	2	2	8	3	2	29	13	8	10

The climate of Constantinople is generally favourable to health and enjoyment, though very variable. The greatest changes take place in the spring, autumn, and winter. The summer months are uniformly hot, and the increase of temperature sometimes exceedingly oppressive, from a burning sun shining out in a cloudless sky. During one year of my residence the intense blue was not stained by a single cloud for eleven weeks, but this is of rare occurrence. When it does happen, the sense of heat is little varied, and the morning and evening bring no remission of it. In the autumn months morning fogs are very frequent, and obscure the shores of the Bosphorus till the sun absorbs them. They are sometimes so dense as to seem impenetrable, and lie in such defined strata that they present a face like a wall.

The varieties of the atmosphere sometimes cause very strange and beautiful appearances. Mount Olympus is in general but indistinctly seen; sometimes, however, it emerges as it were from the atmosphere, its vast contour seems to impend over the city, and so close as if it could be almost touched with the hand. Sometimes the Princess Islands, and the coast of Asia opposite them, are seen with a distinctness quite preternatural, and present all the curious phenomena described in Arctic regions,—towers and battlements illumined by the setting sun, and in such defined and regular forms that you can hardly believe them to be optical deceptions.

The prevailing wind is also very remarkable; it blows from some point of the north for two-thirds of the year, and sometimes for several months together, so that ships cannot ascend either of the canals, and accumulate in fleets at the mouths of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus.

The seasons are marked by various circumstances, and the Oriental Almanacs, particularly the Armenian, distinguish them by names taken from natural phenomena. The 8th of February they denominate "Gemrei evvel behava," or the day on which the heat of the sun descends into the atmosphere from the higher regions, and terrestrial animals first feel the effects of its rays. The 25th of February they call "Gemrei sane beab," or that in which it descends into the water, and fishes are aware of its influence. The 4th of March is named "Gemrei salis filtoorab," or that in which it penetrates the earth, and plants are first invigorated by it. There is sometimes a considerable increase of cold in the beginning of March, and the sensation of it is painful; it regularly lasts for seven days; these are called "Berduil adjus," or the cold of the old woman, as people advanced in years particularly feel it; and they affirm that some old woman is burnt every year in trying to warm herself. It frequently comes on with a southerly wind, which at other

times brings an increase of temperature, but now for the first time sweeps across the undissolved snows of Mount Olympus and arrives laden with all their cold. This cold is often followed by an unnatural degree of heat. On the 22nd of March, 1822, the thermometer rose to 72, and the weather was so sultry as to be quite oppressive.

It often happens that this untimely heat brings on a precocious vegetation, which is immediately cut off by the severe weather that follows. The trees put forth their blossoms, and almonds, peaches, plums, and cherries are in the highest bloom; suddenly a N. E. wind sets in, sweeping the snows of Russia before it, which continue to fall at Constantinople for two or three days with little intermission, till the gardens are buried three or four feet deep in it. It is a curious sight then to see the extremes of winter and summer exhibited in the same spot; trees standing out of a waste of snow, their stems buried in the drift, and their branches covered with a profusion of blossoms.

Other natural phenomena mark, in an interesting manner, the progress of the year. About the 24th of March, kites and vultures appear over the city, wheeling and hovering in the air, sometimes in such great flocks, as to form almost a canopy, particularly where offal attracts them. They descend into the gardens, where there is generally some foul and offensive heap of animal matter accumulated for manure. The vultures in the palace garden were so bold and tame that they used to strut about like turkeys, scarcely moving out of the way, and one of them always announced his coming by entering my apartments. The kites were continually stooping and carrying off chickens, so it was necessary to set snares for them. A snap rat-trap was sometimes used for this purpose. When a depredator was caught, he flew off with it hanging to his leg, screaming and shrieking till every one of his kindred in the neighbourhood collected about him, and the whole roof of the palace was covered with them.

The month of April is distinguished by the Turks. A severe law exists against killing lamb before the twenty-third, and on that day it appears for the first time in the market. As this is St. George's Day, it is always kept a festival at the British palace, and the resident merchants generally dine there, and are treated for the first time in the year with the luxury of lamb. It was this food that lured Ali Pasha to his destruction: he was suspicious and cautious of trusting the promises of the Sultan, till the Pasha of the Morea promised him the gratification of lamb before the allowed season; and when this extraordinary favour was granted to him, his suspicions, it is said, were laid asleep.

A very beautiful phenomenon announces the progress of May.

About the 20th of the month a sudden illumination bursts out from the bottom of the gardens as soon as it begins to grow dark, and the whole of the walks between the trees are glittering with many lights. This arises from the fire-flies, which fill the air in vast multitudes. The light which issues from these insects is exceedingly beautiful; it is very bright, of a character so mild and bland as to be grateful to look on. It issues in intermitted pulsations from between the rings of the tail, which seem to open and close at the will of the insect. The female is without wings, and is often detected under a leaf by the glittering beaux that are hovering round her. They seem also to be invited by the blossoms of the nasturtium and the œnothera. The yellow petals of those flowers emit faint flashes of light in the evening, as has been elsewhere remarked; and these luminous insects are apparently attracted by the congenial blaze of this "electric lustre." By enclosing several under a glass, I could see to read at night as by a dim candle; they sometimes retain a faint luminous appearance after death, which renders it probable that their light is phosphoric. They continue to illuminate the twilight air with their beautiful scintillations till the end of June, when they all disappear.

The month of June is generally distinguished by violent and sudden explosions of wind: their approach is indicated by sultry heat, and a dark and lurid patch in the sky, which seems to burst, and a violent gale issues from it, which lasts two or three hours. The doors and windows are suddenly burst open, and a din and clatter of everything follows. These explosions generally take place in the night, and rouse the people from their beds. Not only are trees swept away and houses unroofed, but minarets of mosques are snapped across and leave only a stump behind them. If a luckless barque to the Princess Islands is caught in the gale, she often goes down with all the passengers.

July is marked by very vivid lightning and loud thunder, which often lasts for several hours, and sometimes illumines the quarter of the sky in which it appears for a whole night, as if it opened and closed in rapid succession: it is infinitely louder and more awful than that in England: accidents never or very rarely occur from it.

In August, about the 9th of the month, the wind called the Melk-tem sets in and blows down the Bosphorus from sunrise till sunset, generally with great violence. It is sometimes attended by a dense haze, so thick, that objects appear as if they were viewed through a veil of gauze: it is called Patlingam, from a particular gourd which appears in the market about the time it begins to blow. During its continuance the Black Sea, dashed against the rocks at the mouth of the Bosphorus, begins to bellow, and the sound carried by the wind to the city is dis-

tinctly heard. It continues even after the gale ceases, and in the still evening it is heard in the burying-grounds over the Bosphorus with an exceedingly dismal and melancholy sound, which the people consider a prophetic warning of shipwreck.

In September the autumnal rains set in, and a second spring commences even more beautiful than the first. The ground, which the heat and dryness of the summer had parched up till everything green had disappeared, and the land resembled a sandy desert, now puts on a new livery of verdure; a second vegetation of buds and blossoms takes place in the trees; and for the remaining part of the year everything, with the exception of an occasional fog or gale, is exceedingly beautiful, and the temperature of the air most wholesome and agreeable.

THE END.

APPENDIX.—No. IV.*

INSCRIPTIONS

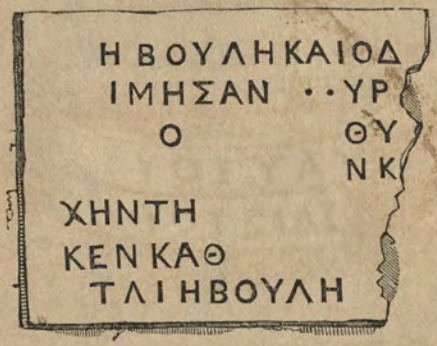
FOUND AT

SEVRI-HISSAR, SEDIJAK, TEOS, AND CLAZOMENÆ, 1822.

* Referred to in Vol. ii. p. 58.

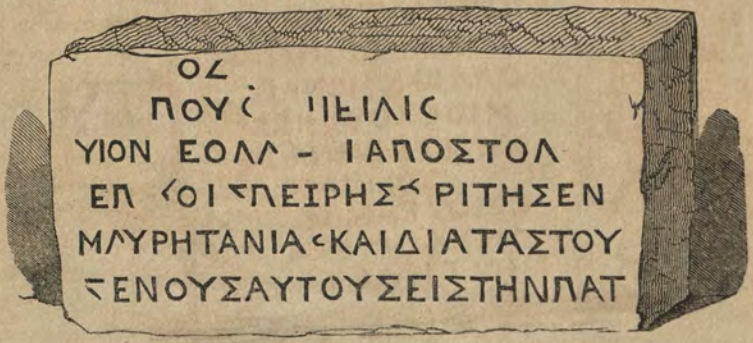
[*To be inserted after* p. 542. Vol. ii.]

No. 1.—*On the Road-side, forming the Wall of a Bath. Sevri-Hissar.*



No. 2.—*Detached Stone at Sevri-Hissar.*

No. 3.—*In the Wall of a House where we conacked at Sevri-Hissar.*



No. 4.—*Forming a Fountain between Sevri-Hissar and Sediják.*

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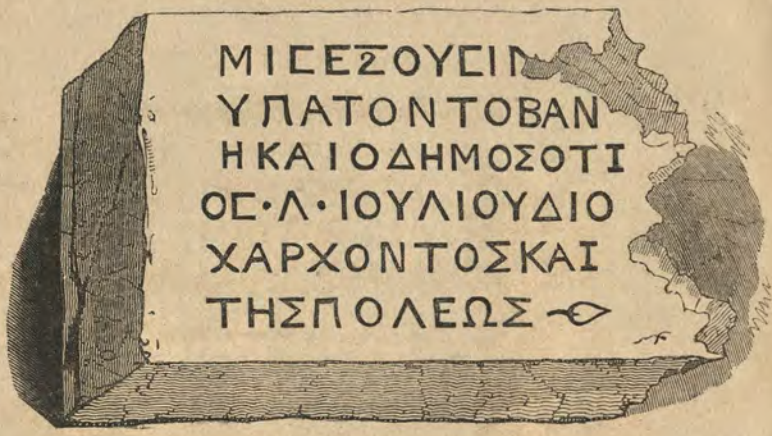
No. 5.—*In the Wall of a House at Sediják.*

No. 6.—*Tablet in the Wall of a House in a Street at Sediják.*

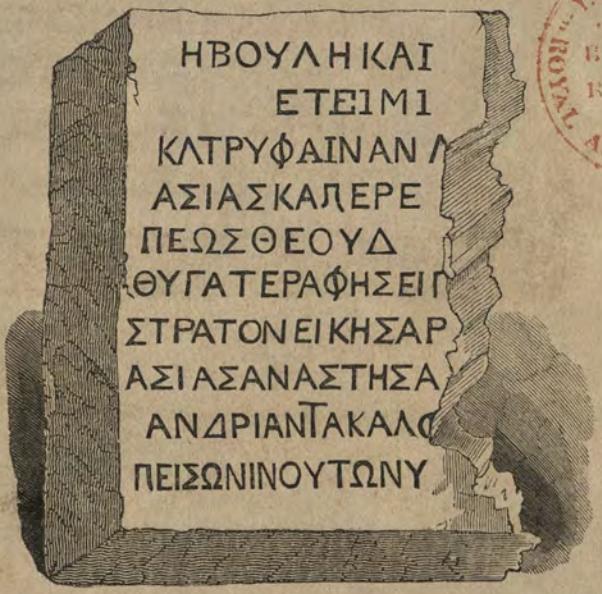
No. 7.—*In the City Wall, east angle, at Teos.*



No. 8.—*In the Ruins of a Temple, Teos.*

No. 9.—*Base of a Statue, or an Altar, in the Temple of Bacchus, Teos.*

No. 10.—*In the Temple of Bacchus, Teos.*



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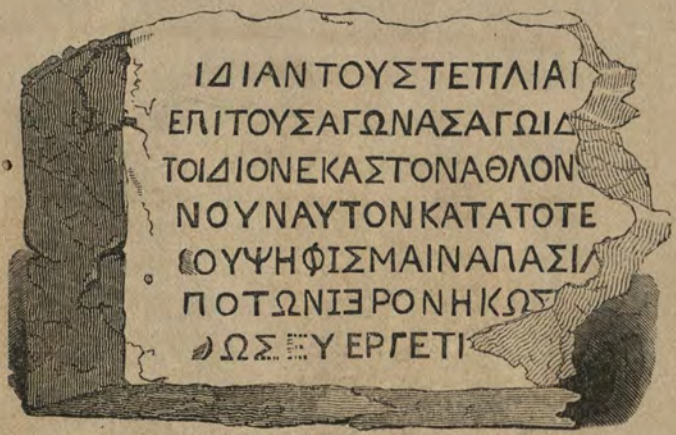
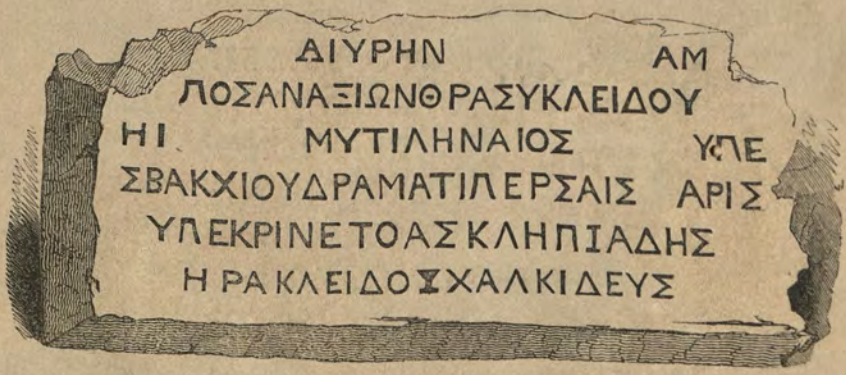
No. 11.—*In the Area of the Theatre, Teos.*



No. 12.—*Road-side, Teos.*

No. 13.—*Half-buried in a Field, Teos.*



No. 14.—*Inverted Pedestal, Island of Clazomenæ.*

No. 15.—*Found beside the former, and seemingly a part of it.*

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
2	2	as many men	as many more.
9	8	sat out	set out.
27	last	μιτάξυ	μιταξυ.
31	last	ducant	ducunt.
62	21	Risacoli	Ricasoli.
80	last *add*	The inscription is surmounted by the following passage from Psalm cxviii.:— ΗΠΤΑΗΤΟΥΚΥΡΙΟΥΔΙΚΑΙΟΕΤΟΥCΕΙCΕΛΘΟΝΤΑCΕΝΑΥΤΗ.	
82	24	to relieve Ali	to reduce Ali.
129	7	eighteen or twenty	about forty.
146	8 (Contents)	Mycene	Mycone.
193	18	Raftopulto	Raftopulo.
244	4	Ternova	Tornova.
268	13	Sultan's sister	Selim's sister.
280	26	expedition of	expedition against.
376	10	Rhubius	Rhubias.
450	26	is a college	was a college.

VOL. II.

Page	*Line*	*for*	*read*
10	14	he would be	they would be
126	32	partially interesting	particularly interesting.
156	13	Buykdere	Buyukderé.
213	29	Tartaravan	Tacktaravan.
248	24	Who bore	Which bore.
265	23 *after*	exterminated *add*	or expelled.
281	last	Vakai	Takvaroo.
330	20 *after*	fire kindled at Constantinople, *add* and at Eyoub, and some of the villages on the Bosphorus.	
366	33	after him	after them.
401	8	μιθαξυ	μιταξυ.
402	4	ιστυγε	ευγε.
511	8	who had now done	who had done.

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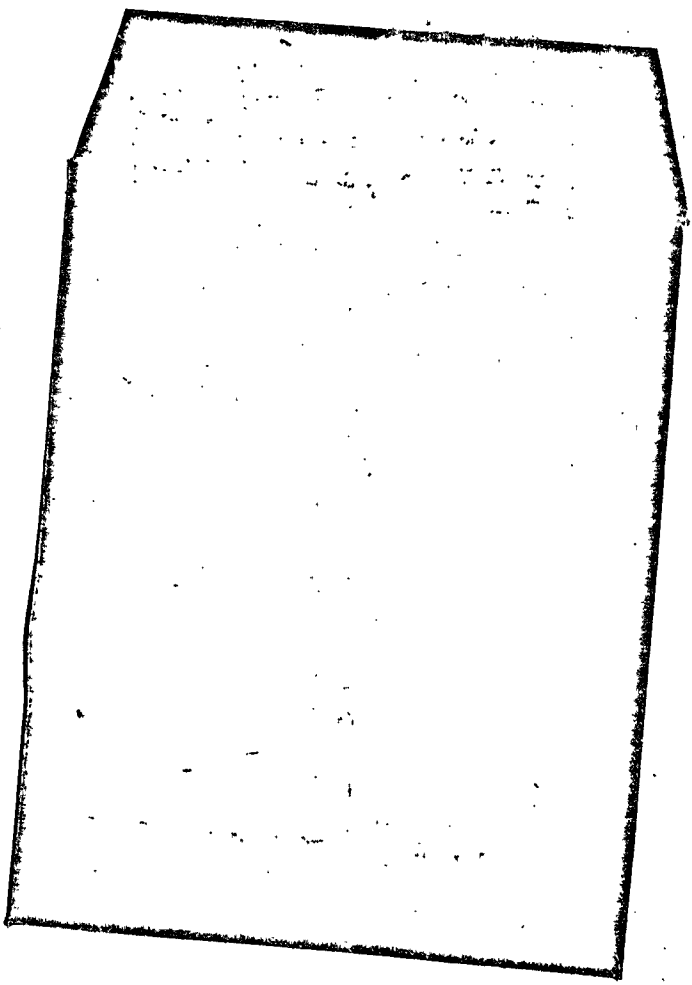

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